the B40 Janam-Sakhi

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION
WITH INTRODUCTION AND ANNOTATION
OF
INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY GURMUKHI MANUSCRIP
PANJ. B40,
A JANAM-SAKHI OF GURU NANAK
COMPILED IN A. D. 1733

W. H. Mcleod

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W. H. McLeod

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THE B40 JANAM-SAKHI

An English translation
with introduction and annotations
of the India Office Library Gurmukhi manuscript Panj. *B40*,
a janam-sakhi of Guru Nanak compiled
in A.D. 1733 by Daya Ram Abrol

Edited by
W. H. McLeod

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To

J. S. G.

Sri Satguru Jagjit Singh Ji eLibrary NamdhariElibrary@gmail.com

It is appropriate that a work so closely related to the life of Guru Nanak should be published by the university which bears his name. It is also a great privilege for the translator, and for the honour thus bestowed I express my grateful thanks to the Vice-Chancellor of Guru Nanak Dev University and to its Publication Officer. I should also like to take this opportunity of thanking the Vice-Chancellor and other members of Guru Nanak Dev University for their hospitality and many kindnesses to me during the years since the University was first founded.

Several people have provided me with valuable assistance during the preparation and publication of this translation. The first was my Batala friend and colleague S. Narinder Singh Duggal with whom I discussed many doubtful readings and difficult words. His assistance in this respect was of fundamental importance and I am greatly indebted to him for it.

The second was another Batala friend and colleague, Dr. John C.B. Webster. The work of revising the translation had to be carried through with the original typescript in India and the translator in New Zealand. Dr. Webster, with skill and charitable patience, dealt efficiently with the recording of amendments and a complex interchange of papers.

From Batala the typescript proceeded to Amritsar where my old friend Professor Piar Singh scrutinised the contents and diligently assisted it through the press. He has thus rendered this enterprise a cooperative venture in a second respect. The first derives from the fact that Guru Nanak Dev University has already published his text of the *B40* janam-sakhi under the title *Janam Sākhī Srī Gurū Nānak Dev Jī*. Although I was unable to consult his text while preparing my own translation I did have the advantage of seeing it before writing the final draft of my introduction.

Two members of the Guru Nanak Dev University Department of Publications have been particularly associated with the actual task of publication. Sardar Kuldip Singh, Publication Officer, has kept a close personal watch on the operation and has dealt efficiently with the various problems which we encountered. I am very grateful to him, and also to Sukhvinder Singh Narula who, in association with Sardar Kuldip Singh, has borne the principal burden of guiding a complicated work through the press. Thanks are also due to Manmohan Singh Dhillon, another member of the staff who has been closely and helpfully associated with the publishing of this work.

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One other member of Guru Nanak Dev University to whom I owe a particular debt of gratitude is Professor J.S. Grewal of the Department of History. This debt includes the interest which he has shown in the publication of the *B40* translation and much more besides. On numerous occasions I have derived substantial help from his unique knowledge of Sikh history, and like so many others I have learned to look to him for original interpretations and stimulating ideas.

To my own university, the University of Otago, I express grateful thanks for research and typing assistance. Specifically I should like to thank Miss Irene Marshall of the Department of History.

Finally there is my wife Margaret whose long-suffering love and loyalty have contributed so much to the final appearance of this work. Her sacrifices have been many; her support strong and unfailing.

University of Otago
Dunedin, N.Z.

Hew McLeod

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ABBREVIATIONS

AG	The *Ādi Granth* (*Ādi Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Jī*, Sri Damdami Biṛ, standard pagination 1430 pp).
Ā'īn	Abu'l Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett, 3 vols. (Calcutta, 1873-94).
AS	Piar Singh's edition of the *Ādi Sākhīs*, published under the title *Śambhū Nāth vālī Janam Patrī Bābe Nānak Jī kī prasidh nān Ādi Sākhīān* (Patiala, 1969).
ASI	*The Archaeological Survey of India*
Aṣṭ	*aṣṭapadī*
B40	India Office Library MS *Panj B40* (viz. the actual manuscript, not Piar Singh's published text *Janam Sākhī Srī Gurū Nānak Dev Jī*). Corresponding locations in Piar Singh's published text can be easily traced by using the manuscript folio-numbers printed in the margins of his text. Except where otherwise indicated references to the *B40* manuscript cite Gurmukhi folio-numbers, not the later Arabic pagination.
Bābur-nāma	A. S. Beveridge, *The Bābur-nāma in English* (London, 1921).
Bālā JS	The *Bālā* janam-sakhi lithographed by Hafaz Qutub Din of Lahore in S. 1928 (A.D. 1871).
BG	The *Vārs* of Bhai Gurdas (*Vārān Bhāī Gurdās*, ed. Hazara Singh and Vir Singh, Amritsar, 1962).
Colebrooke	India Office Library MS *Panj B6* (the *Colebrooke Janam-sākhī*, viz. the *Colebrooke* or *Valāitvālī* manuscript of the *Purātan* janam-sakhi tradition.
E. & D.	H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, 8 vols. (London, 1867-77).
Enc Isl	*Encyclopaedia of Islam* (London, 1913-38).
Enc Isl (New Ed.)	New edition of the *Enc Isl* (London, 1960-).
ESC	W. H. McLeod, *The Evolution of the Sikh Community* (New Delhi, 1975, and Oxford, 1976).
EST	Idem, *Early Sikh Tradition* (Oxford, forthcoming).
GNSR	Idem, *Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion* (Oxford, 1968).
GR	The edition of the *Gyān-ratanāvalī* lithographed by Charag Din and Saraj Din of Lahore in A.D. 1891.

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GTC	Rose, H. A. (ed.), *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 3 vols. (Lahore, 1911-19).
Hāfizābād	M. A. Macauliffe (ed.), *Janam Sākhī Bābe Nānak Jī kī* (Rawalpindi, 1885), being Macauliffe's edition of the *Hāfizābād* manuscript of the *Purātan* janam-sakhi tradition.
IA	*Indian Antiquary*
IG	*Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford, 1908).
IOL	India Office Library
LDP194	Manuscript no. 194 in the Library of the Languages Department of the Panjab, Patiala.
Macauliffe	M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1909).
Mih JS	Miharban Ji Sodhi, *Janam-sākhī Srī Gurū Nānak Dev Jī* Vol. I, ed. Kirpal Singh and Shamsher Singh Ashok (Amritsar, 1962). Vol. II, ed. Prakash Singh (Amritsar, 1969).
MK	Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurušabad Ratanākar Mahān Koś* (commonly known as the *Mahān Koś*), 2nd ed. revised (Patiala, 1960).
NPr	Santokh Singh, *Srī Gurū Nānak Prakāś*, vols. 2-4, ed. Vir Singh. (Amritsar, 1927-28).
Photozincograph Facsimile	Photozincograph Facsimile of the *Colebrooke Janam-sākhī* (Dehra Dun, 1885).
PNQ	*Panjab Notes and Queries* (Allahabad, 1883-86).
Pur JS	Vir Singh (ed.), *Purātan Janam-sākhī*, 5th edition (Amritsar, 1959).
S	Samvat, dating according to the Vikrama era.
Sabadārath	*Sabadārath Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Jī*, text of the *Ādi Granth* with commentary (n.p., 1936-41).
SLTGN (Eng)	Ganda Singh (ed.), *Sources on the Life and Teachings of Guru Nanak* (Patiala, 1969). English section.
SLTGN (Pbi)	Ibid. Panjabi Section.
Walker	Benjamin Walker, *Hindu World*, 2 vols. (London, 1968).

Unless otherwise specified dates are A.D.

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INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

1. THE *B40* MANUSCRIPT

IN his preface to Macauliffe's lithographed edition of the *Hāfizābād* manuscript Professor Gurmukh Singh of Oriental College, Lahore, listed in summary form the janam-sakhis known to be extant in 1885. This list briefly referred to a certain *Lāhaur-vālī*, or "Lahore Janam-sakhi".

Lāhaur-vālī : this [janam-] sakhi was composed in S. 1790.[1]

To this cryptic entry Gurmukh Singh added no further comment or explanation.

Several years later another famous book noted a manuscript bearing the same date. In his *Kattak ki Visākh* Karam Singh claimed that in addition to the celebrated *Colebrooke* and *Hāfizābād* janam-sakhis he had personally seen five *Purātan* manuscripts. One of these was dated S. 1790 (A.D. 1733). Karam Singh reported having noticed this manuscript in the possession of a Muslim bookseller of Lahore, and added that it was illustrated.

> I saw a copy of [the *Purātan* janam-sakhi] in the possession of a Muslim bookseller of Lahore. This copy was compiled in S. 1790 and contained illustrations at various points.[2]

Kattak ki Visākh was published in 1913. Meanwhile, six years earlier, the India Office Library had acquired an illustrated manuscript janam-sakhi bearing the same date as the manuscripts noted by Gurmukh Singh and Karam Singh. The accession date stamped on the manuscript is 9 January 1907, and the entry made in the Library's Day Book on that date reads as follows :

> A Panjabi MS. offered for sale by H. Abdur Rahman. *Price £ 10.* A Life of Nanak (*Janamsākhi*) with a large number (over 50) of miniatures : followed by a few leaves inscribed, in a later hand, with stories concerning the same teacher. Foll. 244 (2 blank) : 8 x 6 in : In fair condition. Dated 1733. This MS. so illustrated must be regarded as a great rarity. (The owner is on his way back to India.) The work (by Bhai Sangu Mal ?) is apparently unknown.[3]

The manuscript appears in the India Office Library catalogue as *MS Panj B40*.

[1] *lāhaur vālī : eh sākhī sammat 1790 vich banāī gaī.* Preface to M.A. Macauliffe (ed.), *Janam Sākhī Bābe Nānak Jī Kī* (Rawalpindi, 1885), p. 3.

[2] *is dā ik utārā sammat 1790 dā kītā hoiā main lāhaur ik musalamān pustakān vāle kol vekhiā sī jis vich thāun thāin tasavīrān vī san.* Loc cit, p. 218 (misnumb

[3] Extract supplied by Miss E.M. Dimes of the India Office Library.

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Although the *B40* manuscript thus acquired by the India Office Library is not a *Purātan* janam-sakhi there seems to be little doubt that it must have been the same manuscript as those variously reported by Gurmukh Singh and Karam Singh. It would be entirely understandable for Karam Singh to conclude that the *B40* manuscript was a *Purātan* copy. Others have since made the same mistake. For its first twenty folios the manuscript follows the *Narrative I* source also used in compiling the *Purātan* tradition, and anyone who limited his examination to these opening folios would naturally conclude that *B40* was another copy of the *Purātan* version.[4] A spot check of subsequent folios might seem to confirm this opinion. Several of the manuscript's later sakhis are drawn from the same *Narrative I* source and if the investigator were to chance upon any of these portions he would find himself reading a text very close to that of the *Colebrooke* and *Hāfizābād* janam-sakhis.

Gurmukh Singh's note points to the same manuscript. From the date and the location indicated by Gurmukh Singh it seems safe to assume that the "Lahore Janam-sakhi" must indeed have been the manuscript scanned by Karam Singh. It also seems reasonable to assume that M. A. Macauliffe must have made precisely the same mistake as Karam Singh. Macauliffe obviously knew of the "Lahore Janam-sakhi", for it was on his behalf that Gurmukh Singh wrote the preface in which it finds a passing mention. Had it been either a *Bālā* janam-sakhi or a copy of the *Mahimā Prakāś* Gurmukh Singh would not have singled it out for separate listing, and had it been a *Miharbān* or *Gyānratanāvalī* version he would certainly have drawn pointed attention to its identity. This indicates that he must have believed it to be either a *Purātan* janam-sakhi or something quite different from the traditions known to exist in 1885. Macauliffe evidently drew the former conclusion, for he makes no reference to it in his later discussion of the janam-sakhis.[5] Such an omission would have been unthinkable in the case of a new and different tradition, and can only mean that Macauliffe regarded it as one of the "several copies" of the *Purātan* version to which he refers.[6] Gurmukh Singh's own interpretation remains obscure, but either of the alternatives leaves the way open for an identification of the "Lahore Janam-sakhi" not merely with the manuscript observed by Karam Singh but also with the India Office Library's acquisition.

[4] *Narrative I* was one of the major traditions utilised as source-material by janam-sakhi compilers. See below pp. 12-13. This and other terms which designate actual janam-sakhis or their sources are explained in W.H. McLeod, *Early Sikh Tradition* (Oxford, forthcoming). For briefer accounts of the janam-sakhi literature see *ESC*, pp. 20-36, and *GNSR*, pp. 8-33.

[5] M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (Oxford, 1909) vol. 1, pp lxxviii-lxxxvii.

[6] Ibid, p lxxxvi.

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This triple identification seems entirely reasonable. All three manuscripts are associated with Lahore, all bear a common date, and no other extant janam-sakhi bears the same date. The illustrations reported by Karam Singh and the initial resemblance of the *B40* text to the *Purātan* version strengthen this conclusion. There seems to be little doubt that the three manuscripts are in fact one. The manuscript noted by Gurmukh Singh was also seen by Karam Singh. Later this same manuscript was taken to London and in 1907 was purchased by the India Office Library. Although Karam Singh did not publish his report until 1913 the conclusion remains undisturbed, for he does not indicate when he actually observed the janam-sakhi. His visit to the bookshop in Lahore could well have been during 1907 or earlier.

If this assumption is incorrect it can only mean that by some extraordinary coincidence two illustrated janam-sakhi manuscripts were prepared in the same year and that one of them, having been offered for sale in relatively recent times, has now disappeared. This is exceedingly unlikely. Hafiz Abdur Rahman, the man who brought the *B40* manuscript to London, probably purchased it from the bookshop in which it had earlier been seen by Karam Singh.[7] Needless to say, its value would now be vastly in excess of the £ 10 which he received in 1907. Together with the manuscripts bearing the catalouge numbers *Panj B6* and *Panj B41* it forms a part of the most important collection of janam-sakhi manuscripts in the world.

B6 and *B41* are both important manuscripts and as representatives of particular janam-sakhi traditions both have their own claims to special attention.[8] Strong claims could also be advanced on behalf of the *Bālā* manuscript dated S. 1715 (A.D.1658); of one of the *Ādi Sākhīs* manuscripts; or of *LDP194* (manuscript 194 in the library of the Languages Department of the Punjab, Patiala). An abridged version of the 1828 *Miharbān* manuscript might also be considered as a candidate for translation and commentary. The choice for an English translation has, however, settled on the *B40* janam-sakhi, here presented as a companion volume to Professor Piar Singh's Gurmukhi text published by Guru Nanak Dev University under the title *Janam Sākhī Srī Gurū Nānak Dev jī* (Amritsar, 1974).

[7] I owe the following note on the vendor to Professor S.A. Rashid of Lahore:
Very few people appear to know [Hafiz Abdur Rahman]. He was a native of Amritsar and became famous for his book on Arabic Grammar. He also wrote a book on Arabic Conversation. He visited London in spite of the fact that his knowledge of English was poor. He wrote two other books—*Siyahat-i-Hind* and *Safar Nama-e-Bilad-e-Islamia*, first printed in 1905. The second edition was printed in 1920. He died sometime in 1930-31.

[8] *Panj B6* in the India Office Library is the famous *Colebrooke* (or *Valait-vali*) manuscript of the *Purātan* tradition. *Panj B41* is an important example of the first recension of the *Bālā* tradition. Both manuscripts are discussed in *EST*.

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Four principal reasons account for this choice. First, the *B40* manuscript is still little known and little used, a neglect which doubtless derives from the common assumption that it is merely another copy of the *Purātan* version. The publication of Piar Singh's text, together with the present translation, should serve to remedy this neglect. Secondly, it is relatively brief. In this respect it has an advantage over the *Miharbān* and *Bālā* possibilities, although not over the remainder. Thirdly, it provides specific information concerning the time and circumstances of its compilation. No other important janam-sakhi can match it in this respect. The *Bālā*, *Miharbān*, and *Ādi Sākhīs* manuscripts do provide some details, but nothing to equal the interest of the information attached to *B40*. Fourthly, *B40* is of all janam-sakhis the most representative in terms of content.

The fourth reason is the most important. Although all extant janam-sakhis are composite products none can compare to *B40* in terms of variety. Oral and written sources have both been used by its compiler, and from these sources he has drawn examples of all the major forms to be found in the janam-sakhi literature. Narrative anecdotes of different kinds and discourses of the narrative didactic and the heterodox variety have all been included within its pages. Every stage of janam-sakhi development is also represented, ranging from the primitive structures of the compiler's oral source (*Narrative III* material) to the evolved patterns which he has borrowed from the *Miharbān* tradition. His use of a wide variety of sources also means the appearance of a corresponding variety of dialects. Nowhere else is this range of content and language available in such a compact form. This feature alone would justify the claim that of all extant janam-sakhis the *B40* manuscript is the most important.

2. A DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The *B40* manuscript originally consisted of 240 folios, bound in thirty fascicles of eight folios each. To these thirty fascicles three extra folios were added, either by the original copyist or at an early date after the completion of his work. This brought the total to 243 folios. Five folios are now missing, leaving a total of 238.[9] These missing folios were 15-18 and 29 according to the original Gurmukhi pagination. The first four came between 14 and 15 of the later pagination in Arabic numerals, and the remaining one between 24 and 25. A few corners have been damaged, but in other respects the manuscript is in good condition. As indicated by the quotation from the Day Book of the India Office Library each folio measures 8 x 6 inches.

PAGINATION

The manuscript in its present forms bears two sets of F s.

[9]The total given in the extract from the India Office Library Day Book is incorrect both for the original manuscript and for the surviving portion.

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The earlier of the two is, as one would expect, in Gurmukhi and was evidently added by the copyist after he had completed his text. This set proceeds only as far as the termination of the actual text on folio 231 (Arabic pagination folio 226). It does not extend to the table of contents nor to the extra folios with which the manuscript concludes. The table of contents does, however, list the appropriate folio-number for the beginning of each sakhi. Two errors have been made while recording the Gurmukhi numbers on individual folios. The figure 73 has been used twice on consecutive folios (Arabic folios 68 and 69) and 78 has been omitted.

At some stage following the loss of five folios (Gurmukhi 15-18 and 29) Arabic numerals of the modern European style were added in pencil. This second series was added after the manuscript had been bound, and as a result folios which were inadvertently reversed during or prior to the binding process bear their Arabic folio-numbers on the reverse side.[10] (Gurmukhi folio-numbers were all on the obverse. Broken corners have eliminated a few of them). None of the Arabic folio-numbers has been eliminated by damage to the manuscript, another feature which indicates the lateness of this second series. It is however, evident that the addition was made before the manuscript had been acquired by the India Office Library. The immaturity of the figures indicates a hand unskilled in the recording of European-style Arabic numerals. This points to a period prior to the manuscript's removal to London.

Folio-numbers printed in the margins of the English translation follow the original Gurmukhi pagination, not the later Arabic; and reversed folios have been restored to their correct sequence. This has been done in order to maintain correspondence with the marginal pagination of the published text given in Piar Singh's *Janam Sākhī Srī Gurū Nānak Dev Jī*. Footnote citations also follow the Gurmukhi pagination except where otherwise indicated.[11] In his published text Piar Singh has corrected the copyist's erroneous duplication of the figure 73 by substituting 74 for the second 73. He then continues out of step with the manuscript until harmony is restored at folio 79 as a result of the copyist's omission of 78. Folio-numbers in the margin of the English translation follow Piar Singh's amended form.

A third set of figures recorded on the manuscript indicates fascicle numbers. These begin on folio 1 and thereafter appear in the upper left corner of the obverse side of every eighth folio in the same hand as the Gurmukhi folio-numbers. Only two seem to have been omitted

[10]The following folios have reversed. In each instance the first figure designates the Gurmukhi folio-number and the second (in brackets) the Arabic. *B40*, ff. 14 (14), 39 (34), 41 (36), 48 (43), 57 (52), 94 (89), 117 (112), 132 (127), 157 (152). Each bears on either its obverse or reverse one of the illustrations with wh[illegible] dual sakhis begin.

[11]Footnote citations in *GNSR* also follow the Gurmukhi pagination. Those given in *ESC*, however, follow the Arabic sequence.

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by the copyist (the fourth and the thirtieth, which should appear on folios 25 and 233). Folio 17, which presumably bore the fascicle number 3, is missing; and the portion of folio 41 which must have borne fascicle number 6 has been broken off.

SCRIPT

The copyist's Gurmukhi handwriting is neat and clearly formed. Though scarcely to be designated calligraphy it is certainly a competent style and represents a considerable advance on the spidery scrawl of the *Colebrooke* manuscript.[12] In maturity as in time the *B40* style lies between the primitive Gurmukhi of the Colebrooke manuscript and the developed symmetry of the later Damdama style.[13]

With few exceptions each side of a folio has sixteen lines, and each line contains 18-25 letters. As with all manuscripts of the period these letters are written continuously with no gaps between words. Spaces occur only at the end of sentences where they are marked by two vertical strokes (*do ḍaṇḍe*). Even this convention is by no means invariably observed. In many instances the text continues unbroken even where the sense demands a new sentence. Words which remain incomplete at the end of a line are divided without regard to syllables and continued on the following line. In cases where a consonant followed by a *Kannā* (◌ੱ) occurs at the end of a line the *Kannā* is written only if there is room at the end of the line. If there is insufficient space only the consonant is written. The *Kannā* is omitted and a circle denoting its omission is inscribed in the right margin immediately adjacent to the consonant.[14]

Nasalisation is always marked by a complete *ṭippī* (i.e. by a full circle, in contrast with the inverted semi-circle which is normally used today). The *bindī*, or nasal dot, is not used, although an imperfectly executed *ṭippī* occasionally resembles a *bindī*. At points where modern usage indicates a *bindī* the copyist omits the nasal sign altogether.

Conjunct forms occur with even less frequency than in modern Gurmukhi usage. The only such form to be used by the copyist is the *rārā* (ਰ, *r*) following ਸ, ਕ, ਗ, ਤ, ਦ, ਪ, ਬ, ਭ (*s*, *k*, *g*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *b*, and *bh*). This usage is not invariably followed. In some instances the conjunct form is employed, and in others the *rārā* is written in full. The *adhik* (◌ੱ) signifying duplication is not used.

Certain letters are written in a manner which differs from modern Gurmukhi. These are the vowel *aiṛā* (ਅ, *a*), with its *kannā* (ਆ, *ā*) and *dulāīān* (ਐ, *ai*) derivatives; and the consonants *hahā* (ਹ, *h*) and *chhachchhā* (ਛ, *chh*). All of these letters are written in forms which resemble the

[12] A facsimile of folio 156a is reproduced below (plate 7). For an example of the *Colebrooke* script see *MK*, plate 2 facing p. 312.

[13] *MK*, plate 3 facing p. 312.

[14] This convention continued until the early years of the twentieth century. E. P. Newton, *Panjabi Grammar* (Ludhiana, 1898), p. 10.

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corresponding Devanagri letters. This also applies to the copyist's *auṅkaṛ* (the non-initial form of the short vowel ੁ, *u*). It does not, however, apply to his *dulaiṅkaṛe* (the non-initial form of the long vowel ੂ, *ū*). Two other consonants which bear some resemblance to Devanagri forms are *jajjā* (ਜ, *j*) and *lallā* (ਲ, *l*). The *kanauṛā* derivative of *aiṛā* (ੈ, *au*) is not used, its sound being represented instead by *aiṛā* followed by *ūṛā* (ੈੂ, *au*).

Errors are uncommon, except for a certain proneness to haplography.[15] The incidence of haplography is significant, for it helps to determine the nature of the compiler's sources. Occasionally a line of a quoted stanza is omitted[16] and in one place the analogues indicate that a complete sentence has been overlooked.[17] In some places words have been read incorrectly.[18] Metathesis occasionally occurs.[19] Dittography is very rare.[20]

Where an error occurs and has been noticed by the copyist a yellow substance has been applied in order to obliterate it. If the mistake consists of the omission of a single letter this is written immediately below the point at which it was omitted. In a few places additions have been made by a later hand. These later amendments are easily recognised, not merely because of differences in handwriting but also through the use of inferior ink. The copyist has not recorded the recipe for his black ink, but the results indicate that it was a good mixture. His red ink has, however, tended to fade.

Red ink has been used to indicate the termination of sakhis; to mark the beginning of quotations from the works of Guru Nanak; and to highlight occasional points of major importance, such as the dates of Nanak's birth and death. Gurmukhi folio and fascicle numbers are recorded in black ink.

ILLUSTRATIONS

The *B40* manuscript contains fifty-seven illustrations. These, together with their folio-numbers, are listed below in an appendix at the conclusion of the English translation. Thirty of the illustrations are full-page; sixteen occupy between two-thirds and three-quarters of a page; and the remaining eleven are half-page. Almost all these illustrations

[15] *B40*, ff. 8a (line 2), 10b (14), 19a (9), 20b (9), 21b (8), 22a (13), 28b (11), 33a (1), 40a (12), 65a (3), 73a (1) [the second of the folios numbered 73, viz. Arabic 69a], 94a (12), 110a (3,8), 126b (4), 137a (16), 142a (13), 145a (14), 182a (5), 184a (1), 184b (6), 217a (16), 225a (7). Note that in this and the next five footnotes the figures given in brackets after each folio number designate line numbers.

[16] *B40*, ff. 23a (13), 69b (14).

[17] *B40*, f. 20b (10).

[18] *B40*, ff. 26a (9), 30b (15), 31b (13), 36a (10), 38a (13), 65a (11), 89b (6), 124b (3), 153a (9), 184b (10, 14).

[19] *B40*, ff. 7b (11), 26b (13), 73a (2) [the second of the folios num Arabic 69a], 76b (14), 95a (7), 109b (12), 124a (3,9), 138a (2).

[20] *B40*, ff. 52a (14), 227b (13).

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appear at the beginning of individual sakhis, each depicting a scene from the narrative which follows. The only exceptions to this rule are an extra illustration attached to the beginning of sakhi 24, "The meeting with Lahana";[21] and three extra illustrations occurring at intervals during the course of sakhi 34, "Raja Sivanabh".[22] Only four sakhis lack an introductory illustration (sakhis 1, 21, 35 and 57).

In most instances a caption in Arabic script appears in the margin beside the illustration, and wherever this is lacking the margin is so narrow that it seems reasonable to assume that in such cases an Arabic-script annotation must have been shaved off. Gurmukhi captions have been added to at least eleven of the illustrations.[23] These are not the work of the copyist but of a later and much cruder hand.

Like other Punjab art of the same period the *B40* illustrations display only a rudimentary notion of perspective. They are, however, expertly executed in most attractive colours and as notable examples of their genre they assuredly deserve the honour of full-colour reproduction whenever funds make this possible. Six of them are reproduced below in black and white as a part of the appendix which lists all the *B40* illustrations. The half-page illustration from folio 149a appears as plate 255 in J. Finegan's *The Archaeology of the World's Religions* (Princeton, 1952) and the half-page illustration from folio 1526 is reproduced on page 118 of E.G. Parrinder's *A Book of World Religions* (Amersham, 1965). Both are in black and white.

The importance of the *B40* illustrations is further enhanced by the fact that the artist is actually named in a note appended to the manuscript. He is Alam Chand, a Raj or mason by caste.[24] A particular interest attaches to his caste designation. Art work amongst the Sikhs has in recent generations been monopolised by members of the Ramgarhia community, the composite caste formed by those Sikhs whose forbears belonged to a variety of artisan castes. One of the artisan castes which contributed a modest number of converts to the Ramgarhia caste group was the Raj or mason caste and members of this small subsection have made a distinctive contribution as artists and as interior decorators of gurdwaras. Alam Chand was a distinguished forbear in terms of professional skill as well as caste affiliation.[25]

EXTRA FOLIOS

The text of the *B40* janam-sakhi concludes on folio 231a (Arabic

[21] *B40*, ff. 93b, 94b.

[22] *B40*, ff. 145b, 149a, 152b.

[23] *B40*, ff. 6b, 8b, 14b, 36b, 39b, 41a, 43b, 48a, 149a, 152b, 183b. The clearest of these appears at the top of folio 152b, separated from the illustration by five lines of text. It reads : ਤਾ ਰਾਜਾ ਸਿਨਾਭੁ ਸਿਖ ਹੋਇਆ, "Raja Si[va]nabh became a Sikh".

[24] *B40*, f. 84b. See below p. 20.

[25] For a valuable treatment of the Ramgarhia caste group see Satish S *le Men* (New Delhi, 1976). See also W.H. McLeod, "Ahluwalias and Ramgarhias: two Sikh castes" in *South Asia*, no. 4 (October 1974), pp. 78-90.

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226a) and with it concludes the Gurmukhi pagination. (Arabic numbering has, however, been continued through to the end of the manuscript.) The reverse of folio 226 (Arabic) is blank and folios 227a-228b are occupied by a table of contents (*tatkarā*). This still left seven folios of the final fascicle, to which another three folios were added. These ten surplus folios have been used by a later writer to record a version of the two apocryphal works entitled "The Medina Discourse" (*madīne dī goṣṭi*) and "The Mecca Discourse" (*makke dī goṣṭi*). The two stories are commonly conjoined, as in this case, and in this form are referred to as "The Mecca-Madina Discourse" (*makke madīne dī goṣṭi*).[26] The Medina discourse purports to describe the conversion of the legendary Qarun[27] through the recitation of a piece of wise counsel entitled the *Nasīhat Nāmā*, or "Admonitory Homily";[28] and the Mecca discourse records a discussion which is said to have been held with learned Muslims of the city.[29]

These two discourses do not form an integral part of any janam-sakhi, but have instead circulated independently, either individually or together, as separate works in their own right. Where they are linked to a janam-sakhi it is an appendage, not as an integrated part of the janam-sakhi. In some instances both the janam-sakhi and the appendage are the work of the same copyist; and in others (as in the case of the *B40* manuscript) the discourses have been added later. The measure of divergence which distinguishes the different versions is well illustrated by a comparison of the *B40* and *B41* manuscripts in the India Office Library. Whereas the *B40* appendage covers less than nine folios of prose, the *B41* version runs to 141 folios of

[26] *MK*, p. 703.

[27] The story of Qarun provides a rare if highly tenuous link between Jewish sources and Sikh tradition. Qarun appears in the Qur'an in two roles, both relating to Moses and the Israelites. Two texts refer to him as a minister of Pharaoh who oppressed the Israelites (xxix. 38 and xl. 25) and one identifies him with the Biblical Korah of Numbers 16 who rose against Moses (xxviii. 76-82). In the latter role he provides an example of the fate which befalls those who put their trust in worldly wealth, a story which later Muslim legend embroidered extensively with material from rabbinic literature. *Enc Isl* II. 780-81. Santokh Singh sets the story of Qarun in Rum or Byzantium. *NPr* II. 16(2). For Rum see *Enc Isl* III. 1174-75.

[28] *MK*, pp. 241, 506. Mohan Singh, *A History of Panjabi Literature* (Amritsar, 1956), pp. 30, 133. Macauliffe gives a translation of a brief work which he entitles the *Nasihat Nama* (Macauliffe I. 128-29). This is not, however, the composition which we find recorded under this name in extra folios of the *B40* manuscript. It is a work entitled the *Hāzar Nāmā*, to be found in the *B40* sakhi "A Discourse with Rattan Haji" (*B40*, ff. 56a-57a). See also Mohan Singh, op. cit. p. 119, and J.D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs* (London, 1849), Appendix iv, pp. 369-72.

[29] The version appended to the *B40* janam-sakhi names only Sheikh R Other versions add Sheikh Sharaf, Baha' al-Din, and Zain-ul-Abadin. Piar Singh, *A Critical Survey of Panjabi Prose in the Seventeenth Century* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1968), p. 123.

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verse.[30] Moreover, only a part of the *B40* material is strictly a version of "The Mecca-Medina Discourse". Portions of it are janam-sakhi elements which have been combined with the discourse. The discourse portion is almost certainly a summary of the longer version. Janam-sakhi evolution processes indicate that briefer versions are normally earlier than longer versions, but not when the briefer account is in prose and the longer rendering in verse.

The Arabic pagination of the *B40* manuscript continues without a break after the *tatkarā*, but prior to the addition of these page numbers and the binding of the manuscript the order of the extra folios was disturbed. Immediately after the *tatkarā* come the three concluding folios of the discourse, now numbered 229, 230 and 231. Folio 232 is blank, and then folios 233-38 provide the earlier portion of the discourse. Folio 238 concludes the entire manuscript in its present orm.

These extra folios have not been included in the translation of the *B40* janam-sakhi as they are plainly no part of it. They derive from a source which the *B40* compiler did not use and they have been recorded in a vastly inferior hand (the same cramped hand as the Gurmukhi captions attached to eleven of the *B40* illustrations). The story which they relate is as follows :

233 In response to a request from Mardana, Baba Nanak decides to visit Mecca. The two set out and on the way are joined by four Muslim pilgrims (*hājī*) and a faqir. Baba Nanak discourses with the faqir on the subject of renunciation and in reply to an enquiry from the faqir acknowledges that he is a Hindu. The pilgrims are horrified when they hear this and assure him that no Hindu can ever enter Mecca.

234 Leaving the pilgrims and the faqir, Baba Nanak continues on his way with Mardana. They proceed first to Medina where
235 they visit a king variously called Karun, a tyrannical ruler who is said to possess "forty hoards of treasure". The reference is obviously to Qarun. Baba Nanak recites the *Nasṭhat Nāmā*
236 and following it a shabad which is not in the Adi Granth. Qarun is converted and makes his submission to the Guru. In response to Baba Nanak's command he frees all his prisoners, and then asks what he should do in order to find God. He is assured that those who worship God will receive His grace.

237 Baba Nanak and Mardana then leave Medina and proceed to Mecca where the former is asked by a qazi if he is a Hindu, as admission to the city can be granted only to those who regularly

[30] IOL MS. *Panj B41* provides an example of an appendag ıe same hand as the janam-sakhi proper. Folios 1-253 record an early *Bālā* janam-sakhi; folios 254-358 relate "The Mecca Discourse"; and folios 349-95 give "The Medina Discourse".

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recite the Muslim prayer (*namāz*). Nanak assures him that he does indeed recite the *namāz* and thus gains entry to the city. There follows a discourse with the qazi on the subject of the Qur'an and the Kalma, after which Baba Nanak answers questions posed by the qazi by reciting "another *Nasīhat Nāmā*," 238
also referred to as the *Pāk Nāmā*, or "Holy Homily". The qazi is duly converted.

The news of Nanak's arrival and activities is then communicated to a pir, later identified as Rukandi.[31] The pir summons Nanak and the two hold discourse. In the course of the interview Nanak recites a version of the acrostic which appears on folios 48a-50b of the *B40* janam-sakhi.

At the conclusion of the acrostic members of the audience 229
praise Nanak for his piety and then join in reciting their *namāz*. The qazi who is leading the prayer observes that Nanak is laughing during its recitation, and at its conclusion lodges an indignant protest with the pir. Baba Nanak defends his action 230
by revealing that the qazi, while mechanically reciting the set prayer, had been thinking of his new-born filly. The prayer was accordingly unacceptable to God and for this reason he had laughed.[32]

Following this incident Baba Nanak and Mardana enter a garden and there go to sleep. Later, four pilgrims who have met Nanak in the garden inform the pir that they had found him asleep with his feet towards Mecca. When they moved his feet they found that Mecca moved with them.[33]

The concluding incident of the story is misplaced. It relates 231
how the four pilgrims arrived in Mecca to discover that Baba Nanak had been sitting there in a garden for the past twelve months. This, they informed the pir, was a miracle, for twelve months previously they had encountered him on the road far from Mecca and had been travelling towards Mecca ever since. Obviously Baba Nanak must have been miraculously transported to the city in an instant.[34]

3. SOURCES USED BY THE *B40* COMPILER

The question of sources used by janam-sakhi compilers is a complex one. It has been explored at some length in a forthcoming work entitled *Early Sikh Tradition* and for that reason will not be examined in any detail at this point. Here our treatment will be limited to a brief summary of conclusions reached in *Early Sikh Tradition*.

[31] Rukandi or Rukandin, i.e. Sheikh Rukn al-Din. *B40*, f. 53a.

[32] All the important janam-sakhis set the anecdote concerning [illegible] in the context of Baba Nanak's interview with Daulat Khan in [illegible], pp. 38, 54, 73. *B40*, ff. 21b-22a.

[33] *B40*, f. 51b.

[34] *B40*, f. 133a-b.

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The *B40* compiler evidently drew most of his material from three principal sources. The first was a manuscript, no longer extant, which seems also to have been used by the compiler of the *Hāfizābād Janam-sākhī*. This manuscript we have designated *Q1*. The second was another hypothetical manuscript which he shared with the compiler of the *Ādi Sākhīs*. This second manuscript we have designated *Q2*. The third major source was the oral tradition of his own area. To this tradition the title *Narrative III* has been given. A substantial majority of the *B40 Sākhīs* have been drawn from these three sources. The small balance appear to have come from a variety of minor sources, including an early recension of the *Miharbān* tradition.

The oldest and most important of all sources used by the compilers of extant janam-sakhis is evidently an early nucleus of sakhis which we have designated *Narrative I*. This tradition sub equently divided into two derivative traditions, *Narrative Ia* and *Narrative Ib*. The first of these emerges in the *Colebrooke Janam-sākhī*, and the second in the *Ādi Sākhīs*. Both reunite in the *Hāfizābād Janam-sākhī*.

The *Hāfizābād* and *Ādi Sākhīs* collections are the best known of the janam-sakhis utilising the *Narrative Ib* tradition, but they are not the only ones. Another extant work is the manuscript *LDP194* and yet another is the hypothetical collection designated *Q1*. Although no such manuscript survives, our analysis of the *Narrative Ib* janam-sakhis leads us to assume that it did once exist and that it was used as a source by both the *Hāfizābād* and *B40* compilers. From this particular source the *B40* compiler evidently took two clusters of sakhis (numbers 1-8, 17-19) and the lengthy sakhi 34. It seems likely that the cluster 10-14 also derived from *Q1*.

It appears, therefore, that the *B40* compiler shared a common manuscript with his *Hāfizābād* counterpart. There is strong evidence to suggest that he shared a second manuscript with the *Ādi Sākhīs* compiler, a manuscript designated *Q2* which recorded materials drawn from the distinctively different *Narrative II* tradition. From this second major source he evidently drew the substantial group of sakhis which runs from number 20 through to number 32. Like the *Q1* manuscript *Q2* is, of course, a hypothetical collection.

The third major source we have designated *Narrative III*. This provides the *B40* compiler with the lengthy sequence of stories which runs from sakhi 35 to sakhi 49, misses sakhi 50, and briefly recommences with sakhi 51. Sakhis 56 and 57 may possibly derive from the same source. The distinctive features of this material suggest that its source was oral, not recorded. These include its simple structure, its vigorous narrative, the repetition of particular words and f[illegible]mplete absence of scriptural quotation, the conspicuous [illegible] which indicate copying from another manuscript (haplography, dittography, metathesis, incorrect reading, &c.), and the apparent failure of any

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earlier janam-sakhi to reproduce this material in a form resembling the *B40* version.

The force of this argument can be appreciated if one compares the folio numbers incorporating *Narrative III* material (folios 149b-194a and 198a-200a) with the representative selection of haplographic errors given above.[35] From this comparison it will be seen that there is a notable lack of such mistakes in the section of the manuscript which records *Narrative III* material, a lack which strongly supports the theory that this material has been recorded directly from an oral source. It seems safe to conclude that the *Narrative III* source represents an oral tradition, and it seems reasonable to add that it was presumably the oral tradition current within the compiler's own area.

Q1 (*Narrative Ib*), *Q2* (*Narrative II*) and the oral *Narrative III* can, it seems, be identified as the three principal sources utilised in the compiling of the *B40* manuscript. Practically all of the remainder of its contents can be traced to the *Miharbān* janam-sakhi tradition and to eight individual discourses which evidently circulated as independent works. This leaves only the concluding sakhi, a puzzling narrative which should perhaps be attributed to either *Narrative Ib* or *Narrative II*.

If this reasoning is correct the sources of individual *B40* sakhis may be summarised as follows :

Sākhī	*Title of Anecdote*	*Source*
1	The birth of Nanak	
2a	Instruction by the pandit	
2b	Baba Nanak's betrothal and marriage	
3	The ruined crop restored	
4a	The tree's stationary shadow	
4b	The true field and the true merchandise	
5	Baba Nanak's discourse with the physician	
6a	Sultanpur	*Narrative Ib* (*Q1*)
6b	Immersion in the river	
6c	Baba Nanak's discourse with Daulat Khan's qazi	
[6d	Baba Nanak's departure from Sultanpur]	
7	Baba Nanak's travels in the uninhabited wilderness	
8	Baba Nanak returns to Talvandi	
9	A discourse with Abdul Rahman	*Misc. Discourse*
10	The monster's cauldron	
11	Bhola the Robber	
12a	The Encounter with Kaliyug	

[35] See above p. 7.

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12b	Lamenting women commended	*Narrative Ib (Q1)*
13	A poor Sikh's devotion to Baba Nanak	
14	Mecca : the moving *miharāb*	
15	A discourse with Shah Rukan di	*Misc. Discourses*
16	A discourse with Rattan Haji	
17	Baba Nanak's discourse with Sheikh Braham	
18a	The sack of Saidpur	
18b	A discourse with Babur	*Narrative Ib (Q1)*
19	The proud karori humbled: founding of Kartarpur	
20	Baba Nanak's austerities	
21	Baba Nanak's visit to the pilgrimage centres	
22	The country ruled by women	
23	Discourse with Siddhs on Mount Sumeru	
24a	The Meeting with Lahana	
24b	Angad returns to Matte di Sarai	
24c	Angad moves to Khadur : his clothes ruined	*Narrative II (Q2)*
24d	The installation of Guru Angad	
25	Mula the Khatri	
26a	Baba Nanak's daily discipline	
26b	The loyal fortitude of Angad	
27a	Baba Nanak's adoration	
27b	Discourse with Gorakhnath : Baba Nanak seeks solitude	
28	Discourse with Ajitta Randhava	*Misc. Discourse*
29	Discourse with Siddhs at Achal	
30	An interview with God	
31	Baba Nanak in the Land of Unbelievers	*Narrative II (Q2)*
32	Mecca : Baba Nanak's miraculous arrival	
33	Discourse with Kabir	*Misc. Discourse*
34a	The merchant and Raja Sivanabh	*Narrative Ib (Q1)*
34b	Baba Nanak and Raja Sivanabh	
35a	Baba Nanak's visit to Kabul	
35b	Water restored to a Land of Giants	
36	A visit to Bhutan	
37	Cakes miraculously cooked	
38	Baba Nanak's visit to Kashmir	

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39	Baba Nanak enslaved in the Land of the Pathans	
40	Baba Nanak provides grain and fire	
41	Floods banished from a land beside the sea	
42	A demon arsonist converted	
43a	Ajitta Randhava rebuked for greed	*Narrative III (Oral Tradition)*
43b	Abdul Rahman humbled	
44a	Ajitta Randhava rebuked for revivifying dead birds at Achal	
44b	A visit to Tilla	
45	Uttam Bhandari and Sultana Gujar : springs from a mountain-side	
46	A visit to Hivanchal : discourse with Datta	
47	The rich man's pennants	
48	The robbers and the funeral pyre	
49a	A robber land-owner converted	
49b	A raja's daughter turned into a boy	
50	A discourse with Sheikh Sharaf in Baghdad	*Misc. Discourse*
51	The reward of meeting a sadhu	*Narrative III*
52	A discourse concerning true renunciation	*Misc. Discourses*
53	Discourses with Gorakhnath and with Kal	
54	The way of salvation : a discourse which Guru Baba Nanak held with Guru Angad	*Miharbān Tradition*
55	Another discourse with Guru Angad concerning the way of salvation	
56	An injunction to recite the *Aratī Sohilā*	*Narrative III*
57	The magnificence of Baba Nanak's hymns	
58	The death of Baba Nanak	?

4. THE LANGUAGE OF THE *B40* JANAM-SAKHI

In general terms the language of the *B40* janam-sakhi can be described as a mixed Punjabi. The imprecise nature of this statement should, however, be stressed and strong qualifications must be attached to it. The language of the *B40* janam-sakhi is mixed in two distinct senses. First, there is the diversity which inevitably results from using a variety of sources; and secondly, there is the mingling of dialect forms [illegible] particular sources. This, in differing ways, characterises most [illegible] sources used by the *B40* compiler.

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The linguistic range covered by the *B40* janam-sakhi may be illustrated by two quotations. In the first of these the compiler is evidently recording material drawn from current oral tradition and if conclusions noted in the preceding section are correct it can be assumed that he was at this point using the spoken dialect of his own place and time.

A DEMON ARSONIST CONVERTED

ਤਾ ਬਾਬਾ ਇਕਤ ਦੇਸ ਗਇਆ ॥ ਉਥੇ ਮਹੀਨੈ ਵਿਚ ਇਕੁ ਦੇਉ ਅਗਿ ਲਾਇ ਜਾਏ ॥ ਉਨ ਵੇਰ ਉਸਾਰਣੇ ਪਵਣਿ ॥ ਬਾਬਾ ਜਾਇ ਨਿਕਲਿਆ ॥ ਬਾਬਾ ਉਥੇ ਹੀ ਜਾਇ ਬੈਠਾ ॥ ਮਹੀਨਾ ਭਰਿ ਬੈਠਾ ॥ ਉਹੁ ਲੋਕ ਆਇ ਬਾਬੇ ਪਾਸਿ ਬਹਿਨਿ ॥ ਅਤੇ ਕਹਿਨਿ ਜੀ ਏਥੈ ਮਹੀਨੈ ਚਾਣਚਕਿ ਅਗਿ ਲਗਦੀ ਹੈ ॥ ਤਾ ਬਾਬੇ ਆਖਿਆ ਨ ਲਗੇਗੀ ਅਗਿ ਗੁਰੁ ਦੂਰਿ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ ॥ ਪਰੁ ਤੁਮੀ ਮਿਖ ਹੋਵਹੁ ॥ ਤਾ ਉਨਾ ਆਖਿਆ ਜਿ ਭਲਾ ਹੋਵੈ ਜੀ ॥ ਤਾ ਉਹੁ ਦਿਨੁ ਅਗਿ ਦਾ ਆਇਆ ॥ ਤਾ ਉਹੁ ਲੋਕ ਬਾਬੇ ਪਾਸਿ ਆਏ ॥ ਜੋ ਮੀ ਅਜੁ ਅਗਿ ਏਤੁ ਸਹਰਿ ਲਗੇਗੀ ਅਸਾ ਨੂ ਕਿ ਹੁਕਮੁ ਹੈ ਅਸੀ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਜਾਦੇ ਅਸਾ ॥ ਤਾ ਬਾਬਾ ਬੋਲਿਆ ਜਿ ਤੁਸਾਡੇ ਮਨਿ ਇਖਤੀਆਰ ਆਵਦਾ ਹੈ ਤਾ ਕਮੁ ਛਡਿ ਕੈ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਾਸਿ ਆਇ ਬਹੁ...[36]

This is the language of Central Punjab and as the compiler has dated his manuscript S. 1790 (A.D. 1733) it is safe to label it Central Punjabi of the early eighteenth century. In Grierson's terms the location would be the transitional area between Central Lahnda and Majhi with the stress upon the latter rather than the former. At no point is the *B40* compiler more consistent in his use of a single dialect.

A different linguistic pattern is illustrated by an extract from one of the compiler's written sources. The passage which follows belongs to the *Narrative IIb*, or "Ascetic Ideal", tradition.[37]

A DISCOURSE WITH GORAKHNATH

ਤਾ ਅੰਗਦੁ ਦੇ ਤਾਈ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਕਹਿਆ ਜਿ ਬਚਾ ਤੂ ਸਿਰੀ ਗੋਰਖੁ ਨਾਥੁ ਕਉ ਅਦੇਸੁ ਕਰਿ ਕੇ ਚਲੁ ॥ ਮੈ ਆਵਤਾ ਹੋ ॥ ਤਾ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੇ ਕਹੇ ਤੇ ਸਿਰੀ ਗੋਰਖਨਾਥ ਕਉ ਅੰਗਦੁ ਅਦੇਸੁ ਕਰਿ ਕਰਿ ਚਲਿਆ ॥ ਤਬ ਸਿਰੀ ਗੋਰਖੁ ਨਾਥੁ ਕਹਿਆ ਸੁਖੀ ਰਹੁ ਬਾਲਕਾ ਤੇਰਾ ਭਲਾ ਹੋਇਗਾ ॥ ਨਮਸਕਾਰ ਕਰਦੇ ਅਦੇਸ ਕਰਿਦੇ ਅਸੀਰਬਾਦ ਲੈਦੇ ਅੰਗਦੁ ਚਲਿਆ ॥ ਤਬ ਬਾਬੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਨੁ ਕੀਆ ਜਿ ਜੀ ਜਿਤ ਵਲਿ ਨਿਕਲਤਾ ਹੋ ਤਿਤ ਵਲ ਲੋਕੁ ਬਹੁਤੁ ਮਿਲਤਾ ਹੈ ॥ ਮੇਰਾ ਪੀਛਾ ਛੋਡਤੇ ਨਾਹੀ ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਕਿਆ ਕਰੀਐ ਉਨ ਤੇ ਕਿਉਕਰਿ ਛੁਟਿਆ ਜਾਦਿ ॥ ਤਬ ਸਿਰੀ ਗੋਰਖੁ ਨਾਥੁ ਕਹਿਆ ਏਕ ਉਪਾਵ ਕਰੁ ਸਭ ਹਟਿ ਜਾਹਿਗੇ ॥ ਤਾ ਬਾਬਾ ਰਾਤੀ ਘਰਿ ਆਇਆ ॥ ਤਾ ਬਾਬੇ ਸਿਖਾ ਦੀ ਹਥੀ ਹਲ ਦਿਤੇ ॥ ਜਿ ਬਚਾ ਏਹੁ ਕੁਦਿ ਵਾਹੋ ॥ ...[38]

When compared with the previous example this passage illustrates the wide linguistic variety provided by different sources within the *B40* collection; and when examined in isolation it demonstrates the extent to which different dialects can be mixed within a single source. The presence of Punjabi is signalled from the very beginning by the genitival ਦੇ and by the first verb-form. Within the same sentence, however, we encounter the Khari Boli ਕਉ (instead of the Punjabi ਨੂ or ਨੂੰ) and soon thereafter the verb-form ਮੈ ਆਵਤਾ ਹੋ. The next sentence offers the same amalgam, a pattern which is sustained throughout the sakhi. At one point Khari Boli will dominate (ਤਿਸ ਕਾ ਕਿਆ ਕਰੀਐ), at another Punjabi (ਤਾ ਬਾਬੇ ਸਿਖਾ ਦੀ ਹਥੀ ਹਲ ਦਿਤੇ). The heterogeneous quality of the mixture is further increased by a curious absolutive (ਨਮਸਕਾਰ ਕਰਦੇ ਆ ਦ ਲੈਦੇ)

[36] *B40*, f. 175a.
[37] The *Narrative IIb* "Ascetic Ideal" is discussed in *EST*.
[38] *B40*, ff. 107b-108a.

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which belongs neither to Khari Boli nor to Punjabi.[39]

This extract provides a good example of a linguistic mix which is characteristic of much janam-sakhi material. It would perhaps be misleading to call it Sadhukkari or Sant Bhasa as the Khari Boli element is much weaker than one would expect in 'the language of the sants'.[40] The difference is, however, essentially one of degree. As one might expect this mingling of Punjabi and Khari Boli forms is characteristic of materials which incorporate a doctrinal emphasis, a feature which is commonly found in sakhis from the *Narrative IIb* tradition. This particular tradition, while following the usual narrative style of the janam-sakhis, expresses a marked interest in doctrinal issues, and it comes as no surprise to discover that the example quoted above has been taken from the compiler's *Narrative II* source.

The connection between doctrinal interest and language is even more clearly represented in the two sakhis which the *B40* compiler has acquired from a *Miharbān* source. The characteristic *Miharbān* interest is strongly doctrinal and the language used within this tradition moves much closer to Khari Boli. This is particularly evident at the beginning of the *Miharbān* section.

A DISCOURSE WITH ANGAD

ਇਕ ਦਿਨ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬਾ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਜੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਕੀ ਧਰਤੀ ਕਰਤਾਰਪੁਰ ਰਾਵੀ ਨਦੀ ਉਪਰਿ ਜਾਇ ਬੈਠਾ ॥ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਜੀ ਕੇ ਪਿਛੈ ਗੁਰੂ ਅੰਗਦ ਜਾਇ ਬੈਠਾ ॥ ਜਦਿ ਅਢਾਈ ਪਹਰ ਰਾਤਿ ਗਈ ॥ ਤਦਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬਾ ਰਾਵੀ ਨਦੀ ਉਪਰਿ ਜਾਇ ਬੈਠਾ ॥ ਜਦਿ ਪਹਰੁ ਰਾਤਿ ਪਿਛਲੀ ਆਇ ਰਹੀ ॥ ਤਬ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੈ ਬਸਤ੍ ਉਤਾਰੇ ਇਸਨਾਨੁ ਕੀਆ ਬਸਤ੍ ਪਹਰ ॥ ਤਬ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬਾ ਸਿਮਰਨੇ ਬੈਠਾ ਪਰਮੇਸਰੁ ਕਾ ਸਿਮਰਨੁ ਕਰਣਿ ਲਗਾ ॥ ਅਪਨੇ ਸਾਹਿਬੁ ਕੀ ਸਿਫਤ ਲਗਾ ਕਰਣਿ ॥[41]

Even the *Miharbān* tradition, however, fails to sustain a consistent pattern. There are few concessions to Punjabi in this introductory portion, but it is not long before the commentator's Khari Boli begins to diversify. A shalok follows the extract quoted above and the commentator then continues :

ਤਬ ਏਹੁ ਸਲੋਕੁ ਬਾਬੇ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਜੀ ਪੜਿਆ ॥ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਜੀ ਕਹਿਆ ॥ ਜੁ ਵਾਹੁ ਵਾਹੁ ਸਚੇ ਪਾਤਿਸਾਹਿ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਿਫਤਿ ਕਿਸੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਕਰ ਸਕੀ ॥ ਸੁ ਕਉਣੁ ਹੈ ਜਿ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਿਫਤ ਕੵੀ ਕਰੈ ॥ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਿਫਤ ਕੵੀ ਜਾਣਦਾ ਨਾਹੀ ॥ ਜੁ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਿਫਤ ਕਿਆ ਹੈ ॥ ਜਿ ਕੵੀ ਤੇਰਾ ਉਤਕੁ ਸੁਮਾਰੁ ਜਾਣੈ ਸੁ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਿਫਤ ਕਰੈ ॥ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਿਫਤ ਕੵੀ ਜਾਣਦੇ ਨਾਹੀ ॥ ਤਾ ਹਉ ਜੰਤੁ ਕਿਆ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਿਫਤ ਕਾ ਵਖਿਆਣੁ ਕਰੀ ॥ ਪਰੁ ਜੁ ਜੀ ਤੇਰੀ ਸਿਫਤ ਨੂ ਤੇਰਾ ਨਾਉ ਲੈਣਿ ਨੂ ਲੋੜਦੇ ਹੈਨਿ ॥ ਮੈ ਉਨਾ ਦੀ ਸਲਾਹਿ ਕਰੀ ਜੇ ਕਰਿ ਸਕੀ ॥[42]

Although Khari Boli has not been altogether abandoned it is now far from pure. Of the three principal verb-forms the first is Punjabi (ਕੵੀ ਜਾਣਦਾ ਨਾਹੀ), the second is Braj (ਕੵੀ ਜਾਣਦੇ ਨਾਹੀ), and the third a mixture of Punjabi and Khari Boli (ਲੋੜਦੇ ਹੈਨਿ). A Punjabi ਨੂ has twice crept in; and for the first person singular pronoun the commentator has used

[39]It is possible that the original text may have given *kar ke*. The Gur *kakā* and *dadā* are sufficiently alike to permit a misreading of this kin..

[40]For a note on Sadhukkari see *GNSR*, pp. 8, 153.

[41]*B40*, f. 210a.

[42]*B40*, f. 210b.

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first the Braji ਹਉ and then the Punjabi ਮੈ.

The extracts quoted above all represent extremes and although diversity of the kind which they illustrate is so common in the *B40* janam-sakhi it would be altogether misleading to suggest a series of swings between pure Punjabi & Khari Boli or Sadhukkari. Pure Punjabi is characteristic of the material drawn from the compiler's oral source and Khari Boli dominates the small quantity of *Miharbān* material. This still leaves the greater portion of the janam-sakhi unclassified. Most of the remainder consists of narrative drawn from earlier written sources, and for this material the language is normally Punjabi supplemented by a variety of other elements. The following extract will serve as an illustration. The extract has been copied by the compiler from his *Q1*, or *Narrative Ib*, source.

THE RUINED CROP RESTORED

ਤਬ ਬਾਬਾ ਮਹੀ ਚਾਰਣਿ ਗਇਆ ॥ ਰਾਤਿ ਨੂ ਚਰਾਇ ਲੈ ਆਇਆ ॥ ਫੇਰ ਅਗਲੇ ਦਿਨੁ ਗਇਆ ਮਹੀ ਛਡਿ ਕਰਿ ਆਪਿ ਕਣਕੈ ਦੇ ਬਨੈ ਆਇ ਸੁਤਾ ॥ ਮਹੀ ਕਣਕੈ ਨੂ ਜਾਇ ਪਈਆ ॥ ਕਣਕੈ ਨੂ ਖਾਇ ਗਈਆ ॥ ਕਣਕ ਉਜੜੀ ॥ ਕਣਕੈ ਦਾ ਖਸਮੁ ਆਇ ਨਿਕਲਿਆ ॥ ਖੇਤਰੈ ਵਾਲੇ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਆਖਿਆ ॥ ਭਾਈ ਜੀ ਖੇਤਰੀ ਅਸਾਡੀ ਤੂਹਿ ਕਿਉ ਉਜਾੜੀ ॥ ਇਸ ਉਜਾੜੇ ਦਾ ਤੂ ਜਬਾਬੁ ਦੇਹੁ ॥ ਤਬ ਬਾਬੇ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਆਖਿਆ ਭਾਈ ਜੀ ਤੇਰਾ ਤਾ ਕਿਛੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਉਜੜਿਆ ॥ ਕਿਆ ਹੋ ਆਇਆ ਜੋ ਕਿਸੇ ਮਹੀ ਮੁਹੁ ਪਾਇਆ ॥ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਦਿਸੈ ਵਿਚ ਬਰਕਤਿ ਰਖਸੀ ॥ ਤਾ ਉਹੁ ਭੀ ਰਹੈ ਨਾਹੀ ॥ ਬਾਬੇ ਨਾਲ ਲਗਾ ਝਗੜਨਿ ॥

ਤਬ ਬਾਬਾ ਨਾਨਕ ਅਤੇ ਭਟੀ ਖਾਵੰਦੁ ਕਣਕਿ ਦਾ ਦੋਵੈ ਝਗੜਦੇ ਰਾਇ ਬੁਲਾਰ ਜਾਤਿ ਕਾ ਭਟੀ ਤਲਵੰਡੀ ਕਾ ਚਉਧਰੀ ਤਿਸ ਪਾਸਿ ਝਗੜਦੇ ਆਏ ॥ ਚਉਧਰੀ ਆਖਿਆ ਕਾਲੂ ਨੂ ਸਦਿ ਲੈ ਆਵਹੁ ॥ ਪਾਸਹੁ ਭੀ ਲੰਕਾ ਆਖਿਆ ॥ ਜੁ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਤਾ ਦੇਵਾਨਾ ਹੈ ਤੁਸੀ ਨਾਨਕੈ ਨੂ ਕਿਆ ਕਹਦੇ ਹੋ ॥ ਕਾਲੂ ਨੂ ਸਦਾਇਉ ॥ ਤਬ ਕਾਲੂ ਨੂ ਸਦਿ ਲੈ ਆਏ ॥ ਤਾ ਰਾਇ ਬੁਲਾਰ ਕਹਿਆ ਕਾਲੂ ਇਸ ਪੁਤਰੈ ਨੂ ਸਮਝਾਇ ॥ ਜੋ ਪਰਾਇਆ ਖੇਤਰੁ ਉਜਾੜਿਆ ਹੰਸੁ ॥ ਭਲਾ ਦੇਵਾਨਾ ਕਰਿ ਛਡਿਆ ਹਦੀ ॥ ਭਾਈ ਜੀ ਪਰਾਇਆ ਉਜਾੜਾ ਭਰਿ ਦੇਹੁ ॥ ਨਾਹੀ ਤਾ ਤੁਰਕਾ ਪਾਸਿ ਜਾਇ ਖੜਾ ਹੋਸੀਆ ॥

ਤਬ ਕਾਲੂ ਕਹਿਆ ਜੀ ਮੈ ਕਿਆ ਕਰਾ ਏਹ ਤਾ ਮੂਜਬੁ ਦਿਵਾਨਾ ਫਿਰਦਾ ਹੈ ॥ ਤਬ ਰਾਏ ਬੁਲਾਰ ਕਹਿਆ ਕਾਲੂ ਮੈ ਤੇਰੇ ਭਾਈ ਗੁਨਾਹੁ ਬਖਸਿਆ ਹੈ ਪਰੁ ਏਹੁ ਉਜਾੜਾ ਭਰਿ ਦੇਹੁ ॥ ਤਬ ਬਾਬਾ ਨਾਨਕ ਬੋਲਿਆ ॥ ਜੀ ਇਥੈ ਤਾ ਉਜਾੜਿਆ ਕਿਛੁ ਨਾਹੀ ॥ ਏਹੁ ਦੇਵੈ ਕੂੜੁ ਆਖਦਾ ਹੈ ॥ ਤਬ ਖੇਤਰੈ ਦਾ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਬੋਲਿਆ ਜੋ ਜੀ ਮੇਰਾ ਖੇਤਰੁ ਸਭ ਉਜੜਿਆ ਹੈ ॥ ਮੈ ਮੁਠਾ ਹਾ ਮੇਰਾ ਤਪਾ[ਵ]ਸੁ ਕਰਿ ਨਾਹੀ ਤਾ ਮੈ ਤੁਰਕਾ ਪਾਸਿ ਸਦਾਇਦਾ ਹਾ ॥

ਤਾ ਫੇਰ ਬਾਬਾ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਬੋਲਿਆ ॥ ਜੀ ਇਕੁ ਪਠਾ ਰੜਕਿਆ ਟੂਕਿਆ ਨਾਹੀ ॥ ਤੁਸੀ ਅਪਣਾ ਆਦਮੀ ਭੇਜ ਦੇਹੁ ॥ ਦੇਖ ਆਵੈ ॥ ਰਾਇ ਬੁਲਾਰ ਪਿਆਦੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਭੇਜਿ ਦਿਤੇ ॥ ਜਾ ਉਹੁ ਪਿਆਦੇ ਦੇਖਣਿ ਤਾ ਕਿਆ ਦੇਖਣਿ ਜੋ ਇਕੁ ਪਠਾ ਖੇਤਰੈ ਦਾ ਉਜੜਿਆ ਨਾਹੀ ॥ ਪਿਆਦੇ ਆ ॥ ਆਦਿ ਆਖਿਆ ਜੀ ਕਛੁ ਨਾਹੀ ਉਜੜਿਆ ਨਾਹੀ ॥ ਤਾ ਰਾਇ ਬੁਲਾਰ ਉਸ ਖੇਤਰੈ ਵਾਲੇ ਨੂ ਝੂਠਾ ਕੀਤਾ ॥ ਬਾਬਾ ਅਤੇ ਕਾਲੂ ਦੋਵੈ ਘਰਿ ਆਏ ॥[43]

This, plainly, is Punjabi but three features distinguish it from the first of the extracts quoted above. First, there is stronger evidence of Lahnda influence. Although the blend is still that of Lahnda and Majhi, verb-forms such as the Future ਰਖਸੀ and the Perfect ਉਜਾੜਿਆ ਹੰਸੁ indicate that the balance has tilted towards the former. Secondly, there occur Khari Boli forms which are virtually absent from the compiler's own oral expression as illustrated by the first example. Rai Bular, the headman of Talvandi, is described as ਰਾਇ ਬੁਲਾਰ ਜਾਤਿ ਕਾ ਭਟੀ ਤਲਵੰਡ rdly, there are traces of Persian in this last example. It is ਖੁਦਾ who grants

[43] *B40*, ff. 7a-8a.

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ਬਰਕਤ, says Nanak; and Rai Bular, while assuring Kalu that his ਗੁਨਾਹ has been ਬਖਸਿਆ insists that he should restrain his ਦਿਵਾਨਾ son.

Such qualifications are, however, of secondary importance. The language used to narrate this story is, with only minor supplements, the language of the western central Punjabi villages of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As the manuscript's colophon demonstrates, the *B40* compiler could himself use the same variety of Punjabi with both Khari Boli and Persian supplements.[44] The language is not yet the polished product which Punjabi prose was later to become, but it yields nothing to its later successor in vigour or pungency. Most of the *B40* janam-sakhi is written in that same spirited style which even today can make the narrative janam-sakhis such lively reading.

5. THE ORIGIN OF THE *B40* JANAM-SAKHI

Two notes attached to the *B40* manuscript together provide an unusually illuminating glimpse of the circumstances in which the janam-sakhi was compiled. The earlier of the two appears in a colophon appended by the compiler.

ਸਾਖੀ ਪੂਰੀ ਹੋਈ ॥ ਸੰਮਤ ੧੭੯੦ ॥ ਮਿਤੀ ਭਾਧੋ ਸੁਦੀ ੩ ਵਾਰ ਸੁਕਰੁ ॥ ਜੋਗ ਸੰਪੂਰਣ ਹੋਈ ॥ ਲਿਖੰਤ ਫਕੀਰ ਹਕੀਰ ਤਕਸੀਰ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕਾ ਗੁਲਾਮੁ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਕਾ ਟਹਲੂਆ ਦਇਆ ਰਾਮੁ ਅਬਰੋਲੁ ਕਾ ਪੈਰੀ ਪਵਣਾ ਵਚਣਾ ॥ ਹੋਰੁ ਸੰਗਤਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੂਰੇ ਕਾ ਦੀਬਾਨੁ ਹੈ ॥ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੂਰੇ ਕੀ ਜਬਾਨ ਹੈ ॥ ਅਤੇ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੂਰੇ ਕਾ ਰੁਸਾ ਹੀ ਵਿਚ ਨਿਵਾਸੁ ਹੈ ॥ ਰੁਸਾ ਥੀ ਮੰਗੀਐ ਸੋ ਪਾਈਐ ॥ ਸਿਰਦਾਨਾ ਕੇ ਦਾਨੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਦੇਣਾ ਅਤੇ ਖੁਸੀ ਕਰਣੀ ॥ ਜੁ ਰੁਸਾਡਾ ਸਦਿਕਾ ਗੁਰੂ ਚਿਤ ਆਵੈ । ਖੁਸੀ ਕਰਣੀ ਜੀ ॥ ਰਸਨਾ ਹਲਾਵਣੀ ਜੀ ॥ ਆਖਹ ਵਾਹਗੁਰੂ[45]...ਭਾਈ ਸੰਗੂ ਮਲ ਪਾਸੋ ਪੈਰੀ ਪਵਣਾ ਵਚਣਾ ॥ ਹੋਰੁ ਹਥਿ ਪਕੜਿਆ ਦੀ ਸਰਮ ਹੈ ॥ ਖੁਸੀ ਕਰਣੀ ॥ ਨਾਨਕ ਦਾਸ ਸਰਨਿ ਰੁਮਾਗੀ ਰਖਹੁ ਹਾਥੁ ਦੇਇ ॥[46]

[This janam-] sakhi was completed on Friday, the third day of the light half of [the month of] Bhadon, Samvat 1790.[47] It was written by one who is humble, contemptible, degraded, the slave and servant of the sangat; and it offers testimony to the humble submission of Daia Ram Abrol. The sangat is the Court of the Supreme Guru and speaks as His voice. In your midst abides the Supreme Guru and if any favour be asked of you, [the sangat], it can be granted. The greatest of all gifts and favours is the divine Name with the joy which it imparts, and it is by your benevolence that the Guru dwells in our remembrance. So rejoice! Use your tongues and say, 'Praise to the Guru!'... Let this testify to the humble submission of Bhai Sangu Mal who has sought [the Guru's] aid and must assuredly receive it. Rejoice! Stretch forth Thy hand to this slave of Nanak and hold him ever in Thy keeping.

The second note has been added by another hand in a space on folio 84b (a space presumably left by the original copyist for an illustration).[48]

[44]See the colophon reproduced on this very page. Note in particular such expressions as ਗੁਰੂ ਪੂਰੇ ਰੁਸਾ ਹੀ ਨਿਵਾਸੁ ਹੈ—*B40*, f. 230b.

[45]*B40*, f. 230a-b.

[46]*B40*, f. 231a.

[47]Corresponding to Friday, 31st August, 1733.

[48]The style, although slightly cruder than that of the copyist, is very sin most distinctive difference is in the formation of the letters *khakhā* and *thathā*. Whereas the copyist draws his cross-line at an angle this later annotator keeps it horizontal. The later annotator may be the Sangu Mal to whom both notes refer.

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ਭਾਈ ਸੰਗੂ ਪੱਥੀ ਲਿਖਵਾਈ ਦਿਸਵੰਧੀ ਦੇ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਟੈਹਲੀਏ ਸੰਗਤ ਦੇ ॥ ਲਿਖੀ ਦਏ ਖਤਰੇਟੇ ਸੰਗਤ ਦੇ ਅਧੀਨ ॥ ਸੁਰਤਾ ਲਿਖੀਆ ਆਲਮ ਚੰਦ ਰਾਜ ਸੰਗਤ ਦੇ ਟੈਹਲੀਏ ॥[49]

Bhai Sangu had this volume written by Dasvandhi's son, servant of the sangat. It was written by Daia, the son of a Khatri in obedience to the sangat's wishes. The illustrations were executed by Alam Chand Raj, servant of the sangat.

From these two brief notes it is evident that the janam-sakhi was prepared for use within a Sikh congregation (*sangat*) during the fourth decade of the eighteenth century. Three persons associated with the sangat are named, and of these two are identified in terms of caste. The scribe to whom the work of compilation was entrusted identifies himself as Daia Ram (or Daya Ram), a Khatri of the Abrol sub-caste, and the later note adds that his father's name was Dasvandhi. This Daya Ram may have been a resident member of the sangat or (more likely) a professional copyist employed to transcribe a janam-sakhi. The artist responsible for the illustrations we have already noted as Alam Chand, a Raj or mason by caste. A person of such obvious skill would almost certainly have been a professional artist employed to illustrate the work of Daya Ram. Finally there is Sangu Mal, the patron who evidently commissioned the work. No caste title is used in his case. Instead the honorific *bhāī* ("Brother", a title signifying piety or religious learning) is attached to his name.

These brief descriptions of the janam-sakhi's origins and intention are of particular interest in that they so plainly refer to a non-Khalsa sangat at a point in time when according to tradition Sikh orthodoxy had assumed the form and discipline of the Khalsa, and the Khalsa was itself undergoing a period of intense if intermittent persecution. The same notes also provide some tentative assistance in the attempt to locate the janam-sakhi more precisely in terms of its geographical area. Although no measure of certainty can be achieved in this quest at least two tentative hypotheses seem possible. The first of these places the manuscript very close to Lahore. The second sets it further to the north in the area around Guru Nanak's village of Kartarpur

In this search for the *B40* janam-sakhi's geographical location a key figure must obviously be the copyist, Daya Ram Abrol. Professor Piar Singh has discovered another manuscript bearing the name of this same person and on this basis he persuasively argues that Daya Ram was probably a professional scribe. The second manuscript comprises a substantial collection of miscellaneous discourses, commencing with the quaint *Dhīāu bihaṅgam kā*. According to a note attached to the conclusion of this first discourse the discourse itself was first recorded by Daya Ram in the month of Magh, S. 1790 (early A.D. 1734) and a copy subsequently made in S. 1823 (A.D. 1766). The note adds that the latter copy was made "in the Sarakhpur dharamsala".[50]

[49] *B40*, f. 84b.

[50] Piar Singh (ed.), *Janam Sākhī Srī Gurū Nānak Dev Jī*, p. 18. The manuscript is

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Professor Piar Singh tentatively suggests that Daya Ram Abrol might have been a resident of Sarakhpur or its neighbourhood and that its dharamsala could have been the place where he worked as a copyist. Although he has not positively identified its actual location he suggests as a strong possibility the town of Sharaqpur, fifteen miles south-west of Lahore. Proximity to Lahore could also serve to explain the illustrations which are included in the *B40* manuscript. These are of a quality which one might well associate with the kind of patronage available only in a seat of government.[51]

There is certainly no problem as far as the change in the initial letter of Sarakhpur is concerned as Daya Ram does not distinguish between ਸ and ਸ਼. The substitution of ਸ਼ for ਖ or ਖ਼ follows if one has already opted for ਸ rather than ਸ਼, though not if one retains the latter initial. On balance, however, Sharaqpur emerges as the more likely form. There thus appears to be a distinct possibility that Daya Ram was residing in a place called Sharaqpur when he made his second copy of *Dhiāu bihaṅgam kā*. It does not necessarily follow that it was the Sharaqpur which is located south-west of Lahore, but until someone produces a village with the same name and equally strong territorial credentials the balance of probability can be held to favour its claims.

It must be remembered, however, that this tentative conclusion concerns only the later manuscript. It does not automatically extend to Daya Ram's original 1734 copy of *Dhiāu bihaṅgam kā*. Sarakhpur (or Sharaqpur) has been specifically named as the place at which he recorded the later 1766 copy. A gap of more than thirty-two years leaves abundant opportunity for a change of residence, particularly in the case of a professional copyist. The suggestion that proximity to a seat of government would be required in order to obtain the services of a skilled artist applies to the year 1733 (the year in which the *B40* illustrations were presumably executed), but given the condition of the Punjab at that time it would occasion no surprise if one were to discover a dispersion of artistic talents. The years 1733 and 1734 fall within the period of Zakarya Khan's Lahore administration, a time of considerable confusion for the area in general and for the Sikh Panth in particular. The truce which was reached between Zakarya Khan and the Sikhs in 1733 would have made little difference. It was evidently short-lived.

This condition of confusion does not entirely eliminate the possibility that Sharaqpur might have been the location of the 1733/34 labours of Daya Ram Abrol. The fact that he worked for a non-Khalsa sangat may have imparted a sufficient measure of security, and if 1733 and 1734 were difficult years in this respect 1766 (the year of Ahmad Shah

in the library of the Languages Department of the Punjab, Patiala (M[illegible]
The reference to Daya Ram Abrol and Sarakhpur is on folio 45. *Dhiā*
kā (Magh *sudī* 2) was finished almost exactly six months after the completion of the *B40* manuscript (Bhadon *sudī* 3).

[51]Piar Singh, op. cit., p. 18.

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Abdali's eighth invasion) is unlikely to have been significantly better. It is at least possible that the *B40* janam-sakhi may have been recorded in the town of Sharaqpur.

Sharaqpur thus provides the first of the two possible hypotheses. The second involves a rather more complex argument, one which lays a certain measure of emphasis on the two *got* names Abrol and Raj. These will be considered in conjunction with three other features of the janam-sakhi's text. First there is the language of the section comprising sakhis 35-49 and 51. If we are correct in concluding that this section of the janam-sakhi records material drawn from the oral tradition of Daya Ram's area[52] we can also assume that its language represents the dialect of that area. Secondly, there occurs in this same section of the janam-sakhi a reference to the village of Nebada in the *pargana* of Kalanaur, immediately followed by mention of a place called Dallai da Chak.[53] These references are to be found in sakhi 43b, one of the anecdotes evidently drawn from the oral tradition of Daya Ram's own area. Thirdly, Daya Ram is unique amongst janam-sakhi compilers in claiming that the setting for the anecdote entitled "The Rich Man's Pennants" was the town of Gujrat. This claim derives directly from Daya Ram himself and not from one of his written sources.[54]

All three features indicate the same geographical area, namely the northern portion of the Rachana and Chaj Doabs (the interfluvial tracts between the Ravi and Jhelum rivers), together with the territory immediately adjacent to their eastern boundary (the left bank of the Ravi river, north of Amritsar). In terms of pre-1947 administrative boundaries (as set out in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*) this covers the districts of Gujrat, Gujranwala and Sialkot, the western portion of Gurdaspur district, and the northern tips of Amritsar and Shekhupura districts.[55] The unusually specific reference to the two villages in the *pargana* of Kalanaur suggests an even more restricted area. The town of Kalanaur, site of Akbar's coronation, is situated on the western flank of the present Gurdaspur district, close to the left bank of the Ravi river. Nebada is probably the modern Navade, a large village situated approximately four miles to the north of Narowal on the road leading to Zafarwal; and Dallai da Chak is presumably the modern village of Dalle Chak, approximately two miles from Dhianpur with its

[52] See above, p. 16.

[53] *B40*, ff. 177b, 178a.

[54] The claim is made in the table of contents (Arabic pagination f. 228b), not in the actual text (Gurmukhi f. 189a). The *Purātan* janam-sakhis name Lahore as the setting of the anecdote. *Pur JS*, p. 70.

[55] *IG*, vol. xxvi (revised edition, 1931), plate 34. The eastern l rea would be approximately 73°30' E, the western boundary a '15' E, the southern boundary approximately 31°50' N, and the northern boundary corresponding to the line running south-eastwards from Jhelum which marks the beginning of the Jammu and Kashmir hill area.

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celebrated shrine of Baba Lal.[56] Nebada can thus be located a few miles from Guru Nanak's village of Kartarpur, on the right bank of the Ravi ; and Dallai da Chak can be placed a short distance away from Dehra Baba Nanak, the twin town to Kartarpur on the opposite side of the river. Although there appears to be no conclusive proof of the accuracy of these identifications, the explicit reference to Kalanaur *pargana* suggests that both can with reasonable certainty be accepted as correct.

This indicates the area surrounding the twin villages of Kartarpur and Pakho (or Dehra Baba Nanak), an area extending on both sides of the Ravi over a radius of fifteen or twenty miles.[57] It is true that some doubt can be raised on the grounds that the sakhi within which the Nebada and Dallai da Chak references occur differs in form from the standard *Narrative III* pattern. There remains, however, the likelihood that the sakhi does in fact belong to the *Narrative III* cluster, and that it can accordingly be assumed that the *B40* compiler (or someone close to him) probably possessed an intimate knowledge of the Kartarpur/ Pakho area. The reference to Gujrat is certainly his and it suggests that the area might be further restricted to the right bank of the Ravi (the tract immediately north-west of Kartarpur). Whereas dwellers on the left bank might be more naturally oriented towards Batala or Kalanaur itself, those on the opposite side of the river might look more to the recently restored city of Gujrat.[58]

At this point it should be acknowledged that conjecture is beginning to take the place of convincing argument. The evidence suggests that the *B40* janam-sakhi may well have been compiled and written within the area north-west of Kartarpur but it certainly does not warrant a firm conclusion. A more general conclusion does, however, carry rather more weight. This would place the janam-sakhi somewhere within the wider area covered by Gujranwala District and the immediately adjacent portions of Gujrat, Sialkot, and Gurdaspur districts. The identity of the Abrol compiler and of the Raj illustrator strengthen this conclusion. Prior to partition in 1947 the Abrol sub-caste was concentrated in the districts of Gujrat and Gujranwala (particularly the

[56]The information concerning Navade and Dalle Chak was supplied by Sardar Kuldip Singh Bedi of Batala, to whom grateful acknowledgement is made. Dhianpur is near Dehra Baba Nanak.

[57]For Kartarpur, Pakho, and Dehra Baba Nanak see below, notes 324 and 339.

[58]According to Sujan Rai Bhandari the present city of Gujrat was built during the reign of Akbar and developed by Shah Daula during the reign of Shahjahan. Muhammad Akbar, translation of the *Khulāsāt-ut-Tavarīkh* in *The Punjab under the Mughals* (Lahore, 1948), p. 301. Also Alexander Cunningham, *Geography of India* (Calcutta, 1924), p. 206. Babur, however, refe Muhammad Muzaffar and his son Bahadur Khan as contemporary rulers of Gujrat. *Bābur-nāmā* II. 481, 534. For a description of Gujrat in the early twentieth century see Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Century* (London, 1963), pp. 88 ff.

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latter),[59] and also in Gurdaspur District.[60] Similarly, there was within the same area a concentration of various Raj sub-castes, again with a tendency to a particular density in Gujranwala District [61] This is no more than circumstantial evidence but it is not without its relevance. Language, specific place-name references, and the caste identity of both compiler and illustrator all converge on the area covered by Gujranwala District and its near neighbours to the north-west, north, and east.

This territory can legitimately be regarded as the janam-sakhi heartland, for other factors indicate that *B40* was not the only janam-sakhi to be recorded within its borders. Because the *Hāfizābād* compiler shared the *Q1* manuscript with Daya Ram it seems likely that the two men may have lived within the same area. This variety of argument also links the *Ādi Sākhīs* in the same manner through a shared use of the *Q2* manuscript. Moreover, the *Hāfizābād* manuscript, as its name indicates, was first discovered in a town of Gujranwala District.

One of the most famous of all janam-sakhi anecdotes, while adding support to this theory, implies that it might also be extended to include the *Colebrooke* manuscript. The *Hāfizābād*, *Ādi Sākhīs* and *B40* janam-sakhis all share with the *Colebrooke* manuscript access to a common *Narrative I* tradition, within which there occurs a description of Babur's destruction of Saidpur. It appears that this event acquired no widespread fame or notoriety, for no other source makes more that a passing reference to an attack on the town.[62] The *Narrative I* tradition, in contrast, insists that the town was destroyed, and this claim is supported by the fact that a new town named Eminabad was built near an earlier ruin during the reign of Akbar.[63] Saidpur was also within the bounds of what was to become Gujranwala District and a tradition which preserves an authentic memory of its destruction should probably be located within that same area.

This conclusion is also indicated by anecdotes in both the *Colebrooke* and *B40* janam-sakhis concerning a Muslim saint named Mian Mitha, or Mithu.[64] Mian Mitha does not rank with figures such as Sheikh

[59] *Census of India, 1891*, vol. XXI, p. 197. Also vol. XIX, map facing p. 328; and table xvi of vol. XX. The *Gazetteer of the Gujranwala District, 1893-94* significantly observes:

> It has to be borne in mind that the Khatris of this district are not, as elsewhere, solely devoted to commercial pursuit or to service under Government in Civil Department. Many of them are Sikhs and under Sikh rule they played a large part in public affairs, both civil and military.
>
> —Loc. cit., p. 63

It adds that they also held much land. Ibid.

[60] Information supplied to Lt. G. S. Anand of Dehra-dun by the Abrol *pāndhā* at Hardwar. The *pāndhā* could not be persuaded to search for Daya Ram in his records.

[61] *Census of India, 1891*, vol. XXI, p. 307.

[62] *Bābur-nāmā* 1. 429.

[63] See below, note 283.

[64] *Pur JS*, pp. 66-70. *B40*, ff, 37a-39b.

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Farid or Baha'al-Din who commanded enduring reputations well beyond their native districts. The reputation of Mian Mitha was largely confined to the western portion of Gurdaspur District (particularly the area now in Pakistan)[65] and it is most unlikely that he would be accorded the same prominence in a tradition which had developed at any great distance from this restricted area.

These features suggest that the *Narrative I* tradition should be located within the area of Gujranwala and its environs; and that the *Colebrooke Janam-sākhī*, with its strong dependence on a *Narrative I* source should also be set within this same locality. In all four instances (*B40*, the *Ādi Sākhīs*, *Hāfizābād*, and *Colebrooke*) language supports the hypothesis.

Both varieties of argument indicate that the *Bālā* tradition may also have originated within this tract or a little further to the east. The possibility is raised by the *Bālā* tradition's considerable interest in such places as Pakho and Eminabad, and also by its language. Although its language shows fewer signs of Lahnda influence than the various dialects included within the other four janam-sakhis, differences of this kind are relatively slight. The principal linguistic feature distinguishing the *Bālā* tradition from its predecessors is its comparative modernity. The fact that it should refer to Eminabad rather than to Saidpur reflects the same temporal difference. It does not imply a substantial separation in geographical terms.

The territory covered by Gujranwala District and its immediate neighbours had already acquired an early primacy in Sikh affairs as a result of Guru Nanak's settlement at Kartarpur. The janam-sakhis suggest that in one respect at least the area retained its primacy even after the rise of Amritsar and other centres of later Sikh influence.

6. THE TRANSLATION OF THE *B40* JANAM-SAKHI

The effort to provide an English rendering of the *B40* janam-sakhi has inevitably encountered the tension involved in all such translations. On the one hand there is the danger of slavish adherence to the original text, and on the other the equally serious danger of excessive freedom. The stilted result of the former can be illustrated by a literal translation of the passage which appears above as an example of the compiler's Punjabi style.

> Then Baba went to a country. There every month a demon set fire. They had to rebuild. Baba appeared. Baba went to that very place and sat down. For a whole month he sat. The people came and sat with Baba. And they said, "Sir, every month fire suddenly breaks out here". Then Baba said, "Fire will not break out. The Guru has banished it. But you become Sikhs". Then they said, "Very well, Sir". Then the day of the fire came. Then the people came to Baba...[66]

[65] See below, note 146.

[66] *B40*, f. 175a. See above p. 16.

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A translation as wearisome as this must assuredly quench the spirit of the original. A greater variety of English expression and idiom is obviously required and at many points the narrator's text must be supplemented with additional words and phrases. This, however, introduces problems of a different kind. Interpretative supplements, though essential to the easy flow of any janam-sakhi translation, can obscure or even alter the narrator's actual meaning.

The solution adopted for this translation is the method appropriately termed "the Indian commentarial style".[67] To a literal translation of the actual text glosses have been added to sustain the continuity of the narrative and, where necessary, to elucidate a cryptic reference. These glosses are distinguished from the translation of the actual text by the use of square brackets. Wherever possible all words used in the text have been translated and where it has seemed likely that this practice may lead to misunderstanding the original word or phrase has been added in parentheses. For some words, however, no sufficient translation exists and in such cases a transliterated form of the original has been used. Extended translations of such terms are given in footnotes or in the glossary.

Transliterated forms normally raise the problem of when to retain and when abandon diacritical marks, and simple words can cause much anguish as the demands of consistency are set against the weight of common usage. For the present work the problem has been solved by circumstances beyond the control of either editor or publisher. Originally this work was prepared in the hope and expectation that a full battery of diacritical marks would be available. Unfortunately this has proved to be impossible and they have perforce been dropped from the bulk of the work. Only in portions requiring italicized typefaces has it been practicable to retain them.

For these italicized words and for unscored transliterations the following principles have been observed. The terminal inherent *a* is normally omitted; for ਚ and ਛ the forms *ch* and *chh* have been used in preference to *c* and *ch*; and words which are common to Punjabi and other north Indian languages have almost all been transliterated in their Punjabi forms (e.g. *got* instead of *gotra*, *amrit* instead of *amṛta*). The only exceptions to these principles are words which in their Sanskrit form have secured an established place in English-language works on India (*dharma* is an example, also *haṭha-yoga*) and words which occur in quotations from other authors.

The same practice has been followed in the case of words which have been introduced into Punjabi from Arabic and Persian, but with an additional exception. Although Punjabi pronunciation and modern Gurmukhi distinguish between alveolar and palatal ਸ ly Gurmukhi makes no such distinction. A single symbol (ਸ) represents

[67]F. R. Allchin, *The Petition to Rām* (London, 1966), p. 11.

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the alveolar, palatal, and retroflex fricatives of Sanskrit-based words and also the *se*, *sīn*, *shīn*, and *sād* of Arabic-derived or Persian-derived words. In transliterating the Gurmukhi *sasā* (ਸ) we have reverted to the original Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian form. The voiceless alveolar fricatives from both the Sanskrit and the Arabic-Persian sources are represented by *s*; the voiceless post-alveolar or palatal fricative of both sources by *ś*; and the retroflex fricative of Sanskrit by *ṣ*. Once again the only exceptions are words such as 'sheikh' and 'shah' which have an established place in English usage, and words which occur in quotations from other works. Because an effort is being made in this work to secure acceptance for the names of the two dominant Adi Granth forms the words which represent these forms (*śabad* and *ślok*) are normally rendered 'shabad' and 'shalok'.

Some minor points which deserve mention are the following :

1. Janam-sakhi quotations from the works of Guru Nanak rarely correspond exactly to the Adi Granth versions of the same passages. There is, in most cases, a general correspondence but variant readings are numerous. Like all janam-sakhi narrators the *B40* compiler also disagrees with the Adi Granth in attributing to Guru Nanak certain works which the canonical scripture attributes to other Gurus or to Sheikh Farid. In all instances the English translation follows the *B40* text. Adi Granth attributions and its readings of the more significant variants are given in footnotes. Extra-canonical works have been included in full.

2. Although a consistent effort has been made to remain faithful to the *B40* text, the English word chosen for any particular Punjabi word is not invariably the same, except for words which possess a technical significance. In the latter case uniformity has normally been preserved and if for any reason it has been violated the transcribed original follows the translation in brackets In other instances, however, a certain limited freedom has been permitted, particularly with the perfective forms *ākhiā*, *kahiā*, and *boliā*, all of which mean "said". Each of these forms has been translated in a variety of ways, depending on the context in which it occurs (uttered, declared, cried, repeated, replied, &c.).

3. The janam-sakhi convention of beginning a high proportion of sentences with the particle *tā*[*n*] or *tab*, "then", has been obscured in the translation.

4. A somewhat wearisome repetition of the word 'Baba' has been avoided by the use of pronominal forms. When used it is normally expanded to read 'Baba [Nanak]'.

5. Tenses have occasionally been changed in the translation to brir the English sense nearer to the narrator's evident intention. This haa been done as sparingly as possible.

6. Wherever the honorific particle *jī* appears in conjunction with a

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common or proper noun it is transcribed in the translation as it appears in the text (e.g. Baba Nanak ji). Where the text uses it without a preceding noun, and the English seems to require a vocative, *jī* has normally been translated "sir", or occasionally "Sire". Elsewhere it has generally been omitted.

7. FOLIOS MISSING FROM THE *B40* MANUSCRIPT

In the section describing the manuscript's pagination reference was made to five missing folios, four of them consecutive and one single. An attempt must be made to fill the two resultant gaps.

THE FOUR CONSECUTIVE FOLIOS

The four consecutive folios were originally the fifteenth to the eighteenth. Although the manuscript's Arabic pagination continues without interruption the original Gurmukhi folio numbers jump from 14 to 19 and there is an obvious break in the text. Folio 14a ends with the announcement that a sakhi relating a discourse with a physician is about to begin, and on 14b there is a picture illustrating the subject. On folio 19a (Arabic pagination 15a) the *B40* text resumes at a point where Baba Nanak has disappeared in a river.

According to the table of contents (*tatkarā*) recorded at the conclusion of the *B40* manuscript the missing folios comprised one complete sakhi and the beginning of the sakhi which is in progress at the point where the text resumes on folio 19a.[68] The first of these is the "Discourse with the Physician" which began on folio 15. The second, entitled "A sakhi set in Sultanpur", is said to have begun on folio 17. Between these two sakhis there will certainly have been an illustration. Apart from the introductory sakhi only three sakhis in the entire manuscript lack illustrations[69] and it is inconceivable that a similar exception could have been made in the case of a sakhi as lengthy and as interesting as the Sultanpur narrative. This intervening illustration will have been on either folio 16b or 17a and will have occupied at least half of the page. (Elsewhere in the manuscript illustrations all vary from half-page to full-page in size.) The illustration cannot have been on folio 17b, for the numbers given in the table of contents always refer to the commencement of text, not to the introductory illustrations. The text of the Sultanpur sakhi must have begun on either 17a or 17b; and the Physician sakhi will have terminated on 16a, 16b, or the upper half of 17a.

Each folio of the *B40* manuscript provides space for approximately 650 letters (325 on each side). If the *B40* version of the Physician sakhi terminated on folio 16a it must have contained a minimum of 825

[68] *B40*, Arabic pagination f. 227a.

[69] Sakhi 21, "Baba Nanak at the Ganges", ff. 76b-82a. Sakhi 35, "How Baba Nanakji visited Kabul", ff. 154b-55a. Sakhi 57, "The magnificence of Baba Nanak's hymns", ff. 219b-20a.

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letters (i.e. sufficient to carry the text beyond the middle of folio 16a the point which would still leave sufficient space for an illustration).[70] Its maximum in the case of a terminus on folio 16a would have been 975 letters (i.e. the full one and a half folios, 15a-16a inclusive). If its version terminated on folio 16b it must have contained between 975 and 1,300 letters; and if it terminated on the upper half of folio 17a it must have contained between 1,300 and 1,460 letters.

Because the terminal point of the Physician sakhi cannot be determined precisely the three possible letter-counts for the text of this sakhi cannot be exact. Precision is, however, possible in the case of the corresponding possibilities for the missing portion of the Sultanpur sakhi. The text of the missing portion must have begun at the top of either 17a or 17b, and it obviously concluded at the foot of 18b. If it began on 17a there will have been space for 1,300 letters (i.e. two full folios), whereas if it began on 17b there will have been space for only 975 letters (one and a half folios).

The possibilities may now be tabulated as follows :

Conclusion of Physician sakhi	Length of Physician sakhi	Illustration	Beginning of Sultanpur Portion	Length of Sultanpur Missing Portion
folio	no. of letters	folio	folio	no. of letters
16a	825-975	16b	17a	1,300
16b (upper)	975-1135	16b (lower)	17a	1,300
16b (lower)	1136-1300	17a	17b	975
17a (upper)	1300-1460	17a (lower)	17b	975

This provides four possibilities. If this larger of the two *B40* gaps is to be filled it will be necessary to reconstruct or otherwise obtain a text which matches one of these options and which possesses stronger claims than other possible candidates.

The obvious sources for such a text are the manuscripts which have, like the *B40* janam-sakhi, derived material from the *Narrative Ib* tradition.[71] Both the Physician sakhi and the Sultanpur sakhi belong to the *Narrative Ib* cluster and it seems reasonable to hope that one of the other manuscripts incorporating *Narrative Ib* material will provide a text fitting one of the four possibilities. This narrows the search down to the *Hāfizābād Janam-sākhī*, the *Ādi Sākhīs*, and *LDP194*.

Of these three the *Hafizābād* manuscript can be summarily

[70] In cases where the text does not extend beyond the middle of a page the remainder of the page has normally been used for an illustration.

[71] See above, p. 12.

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Its treatment of the missing portion obviously represents a conflation of *Narrative Ia* and *Narrative Ib* material and provides no means of distinguishing the latter from the former. The *Ādi Sākhīs* can also be summarily eliminated (at least in its extant form), for folio 19a of the *B40* manuscript (Arabic pagination 15a) records material which is radically different from that of the *Ādi Sākhīs* analogue.[72] The *Ādi Sākhīs* version omits the reference to the search organised by the Khan which appears at the beginning of the resumed *B40* text. Instead it has Nanak transported to the "divine court" during the period of his immersion in the river. This episode, which also appears in the *Colebrooke* and *Hāfizābād* janam-sakhis,[73] would have been too long for the space provided by the missing *B40* folios.

This leaves the version recorded in *LDP194*, and because the text of this version fits two of the four possibilities so exactly it seems unnecessary to proceed any further. The language and idiom of the *LDP194* version correspond to the *B40* text preceding and following the gap; and a letter-count indicates an exact match with the available *B40* space. Furthermore, there is the fact that the only complete shabad included in the *LDP194* text of the Physician sakhi (*Malār* 8) is one which occurs in the *Hāfizābād* version of the sakhi but not in the *Colebrooke* version.[74] Because the shabad appears in *Hāfizābād* but not in *Colebrooke* it follows that it must have been recorded in *Q1*, the manuscript which provided the *Hāfizābād* compiler with his supplementary material.[75] The *B40* compiler also used *Q1* and it can therefore be assumed that his text also included *Malār* 8. It can also be assumed that this was the only shabad which he included at this point, for the available space would not permit more. This at once distinguishes him from the *Hāfizābād* and *Ādi Sākhīs* compilers, both of whom record the shabad *Malār* 7 at this point,[76] and allies him with the *LDP194* compiler who records only *Malār* 8. It cannot be assumed that *B40* and *LDP94* will have corresponded exactly, but there seems to be no doubt that variants must have been few and insignificant.

The two possibilities indicated by the letter-count are the first and the third of the four listed above. Either of these possibilities will accomodate the *LDP194* text in the manner required by the *B40* table of contents and the dimensions of its folios. The arbitrary choice which must be made between the two is of little importance, for it makes no difference to the actual text. It merely determines the point at which the Physician sakhi is to be formally terminated and the Sultanpur sakhi begun.

[72] *AS*, p. 16.
[73] *Pur JS*, pp. 14-16. *GNSR*, p. 37.
[74] *Pur JS*, p. 12.
[75] See above, p. 12.
[76] *Pur JS*, pp. 11-12. *AS*, p. 13.

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The first of the two possibilities carries the narrative of the Physician sakhi up to the point where Baba Nanak's relatives approve his decision to visit Sultanpur. From the point corresponding to the termination by the *B40* text on folio 14a to the approval of Nanak's decision the *LDP194* text contains approximately 900 letters. This would mean a *B40* conclusion on folio 16a, an illustration on 16b, and a balance of 1,300 letters to carry the Sultanpur sakhi up to the point where the *B40* text resume. The *LDP194* text for this portion includes almost exactly 1,300 letters.

The alternative possibility would mean extending the Physician sakhi beyond the decision to visit Sultanpur up to the point where Baba Nanak, having comforted his lamenting wife, actually makes his departure. This would add only a little more than 325 letters to the Physician sakhi (bringing it up to a total of approximately 1,225) and would leave a balance very close to 975 for the missing portion of the Sultanpur sakhi.

If the first of these hypotheses is correct the four missing *B40* folios will have recorded the following material:

15a-16a Baba Nanak's Discourse with the Physician, comprising the *LDP194* narrative, four shaloks, a garbled version of the refrain of *Malār* 7, the complete text of *Malār* 8 except for its refrain, and an account of the decision to send Nanak to Sultanpur.

16b Illustration (Sultanpur sakhi).

17a-18b The Sultanpur sakhi comprising the preparation for departure, employment in Daulat Khan's commissariat, and the opening sentences of the account of Nanak's immersion in the river.

If, on the other hand, the second hypotheses is correct the narrative of Nanak's preparations for departure will have been recorded on folio 16b, the illustration will have appeared on folio 17a, and the Sultanpur sakhi will have begun on folio 17b.

The *LDP194* text has therefore been used to supply the portion covered by the missing folios 15-18. Professor Piar Singh has inserted the Gurmukhi text in *Janam Sākhī Srī Gurū Nānak Dev Jī*[77] and this is followed in the English translation below.[78] Following the example set by Bhai Vir Singh's editing of the *Colebrooke* manuscript Piar Singh has terminated the Physician sakhi at the point where the awed *vaid* makes his exit. The English translation, however, follows the second of the above hypotheses and divides the sakhis at the point where Baba Nanak departs for Sultanpur.

THE SINGLE FOLIO

The fifth missing folio was originally included in the manuscript between the folios now bearing the Arabic numbers 24 and 25. Although the first of these does not bear a Gurmukhi figure it must obvio

[77]Loc. cit., pp. 40-42. The borrowed portion is taken from folios 19b-25b of *LDP194*.
[78]See below, pp. 16-19.

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have been number 28. The folio which follows is numbered both 29 and 30, but from the text it is clear that the correct figure is 30 and that it is folio 29 of the Gurmukhi pagination which has been lost.

Once again the manuscript *LDP194* serves to indicate the missing text[79] and in this case it is possible to extract a corresponding text from the *Purātan* manuscripts. This can be done by linking a portion of *Purātan* sakhi 12 with *Purātan* sakhi 30.[80] Folio 28b of the *B40* manuscript (Arabic 24b) provides the opening portion of the sakhi "Baba Nanak's Travels in the Uninhabited Wilderness". This appears in the *Purātan* manuscripts as sakhi 12, and with an opening text which corresponds closely to that of the *B40* manuscript. The *LDP194* version indicates, however, that the *B40* text cannot have proceeded to the end of *Purātan* sakhi 12. It must have continued up to the point where Mardana throws away the offerings received in the village, "and they left that place".[81] This would have covered most of the missing folio. The remaining space will have been occupied by the opening portion of *Purātan* sakhi 30, omitting only the first sentence This provides a brief passage which connects with the resumed *B40* text on folio 30a (Arabic 25a). There will have been no gap between the two. The *Purātan* division into two separated sakhis is clearly the work of the *Colebrooke* compiler or his *Narrative Ia* source.[82]

The missing *B40* folio provides space for approximately 650 letters, nd the text indicated above contains this amount. A translation of the appropriate portion of the *Colebrooke* manuscript has therefore been inserted below to close the gap left by the missing folio 29.[83]

[79] *LDP194*, f. 35a-b.

[80] *Pur JS*, pp. 20-21, 46-48.

[81] *Pur JS*, p. 20.

[82] The undivided pattern is also followed by the *Miharbān* [illegible] *ih JS* I.104-11, *goṣṭs* 34-36. The narrative has been considerably [illegible] *tihar-bān* version and divided into three discourses, but the discourses are consecutive.

[83] The *Colebrooke* text is taken from IOL MS *Panj B6*, ff. 44a-45a, 106b-107a. *Photo-zincograph Facsimile*, pp. 68-70, 193-94. Piar Singh's text, op. cit., p. 48, proceeds straight from folio 28 to folio 30.

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THE B40 JANAM-SAKHI

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

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Marginal numbers designate the Gurmukhi folio-numbers of the *B40* manuscript. The corresponding Arabic folio-numbers (added after the manuscript had lost folios 15-18 inclusive and 29) can be deduced as follows :

Gurmukhi	*Arabic*
1—14	No divergence. Arabic agrees with Gurmukhi.
19—28	Deduct 4 from the Gurmukhi number in each instance. Thus Gurmukhi 19 is Arabic 15, &c.
30—72	Deduct 5 from the Gurmukhi number.
	The Gurmukhi number 73 has been used twice on consecutive folios. 73(1) is Arabic 68 and 73(2) is Arabic 69.
74—77	Deduct 4 from the Gurmukhi number.
	The Gurmukhi number 78 has been omitted in the paging process.
79—231	Deduct 5 from the Gurmukhi number.
	The remainder of the manuscript is numbered in Arabic only (227-238).

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1a

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, THE TRUE GURU[1]

[THE BIRTH OF NANAK]

A narrative[2] [of the events] concerning the first Master[3] which took place in [the village of Talvandi, the village known as] Talvandi of Rai Bhoa the Bhatti.[4] Baba[5] Nanakji was born [there] in the house of Kalu, a Bedi Khatri[6] by caste. In

[1] *1 o[nkār] satagur prasādi.* An abbreviated form of the divine invocation *[mangal, mangalācharan]* which must stand at the head of any Sikh sacred writing. The complete form is the *mūl mantra,* or basic Credal Statement, with which the Adi Granth begins. *GNSR*, pp. 163-64. The Mul Mantra is normally repeated at the beginning of each *rāg* in the Adi Granth, and the abbreviated form is inserted at frequent intervals throughout the Adi Granth text. Other abbreviated forms occasionally used are *1 o[nkār] sati nāmu gur prasādi* and *1 o[nkār] sati nāmu karatā purukhu gur prasādi.*

[2] *sākhī* (Skt. *sākṣī*), lit. testimony, evidence, witness. In Sikh usage it has assumed the meaning of 'story', 'anecdote', a section or 'chapter' of a janam-sakhi. See *GNSR*, pp. 8 ff. It is translated in this first instance, but elsewhere is simply transliterated.

[3] *mahalā pahalā*, 'the first Mahala'. The word *mahalā*, followed by the appropriate number, is used in the Adi Granth to designate the compositions of the different Gurus. (Guru Nanak is designated *mahalā 1*, Guru Angad *mahalā 2*, &c.). The choice of this particular word has never been satisfactorily explained. In its literal sense it means either 'woman' (from the Skt. *mahilā*) or 'place of alighting' (from the Arabic *mahal*). The meaning of the latter has been extended to cover 'abode', 'residence', 'mansion', 'place', and 'queen' (i.e. the occupant of a *mahal*); also *mahallā*, 'section of a town'. None of these, however, seems appropriate and the reason why the word was chosen accordingly remains a mystery.

[4] *talavaṇḍī rāi bhoi bhaṭṭī kī*, a village in the Shekhupura tahsil of Lahore District, approximately forty miles west-south-west of Lahore City in "lonely, flat, unbroken and dusty country". (Prakash Tandon, *Punjabi Century*, p. 40.) Talvandi is a common place-name in the Punjab and each village so named also bears an appendage to distinguish it from other villages of the same name. In this particular case there has been added the name of the man who, according to tradition, founded the village. This was Rai Bhoi (or, more likely, Rai Bhoa) of the Bhatti tribe of Rajputs. On folio 1b the name of the village is given as *talavaṇḍī rāi bhoe bhaṭṭī dī*. It is now known as Nanakiana Sahib (sometimes spelt Nankana Sahib). Sikh usage adds the honorific 'Sahib' to places, gurdwaras, and objects of particular sanctity.

[5] The honorific *bābā*, 'Father', is the title normally appended to the name Nanak in this and other early janam-sakhis. *Gurū* is also used, but with much less frequency and then usually in conjunction with *bābā* (Guru Baba Nanak). In its use of *bābā* this janam-sakhi is following the standard Sikh usage of the seventeenth century. The honorific *Ji* commonly follows the title and in most instances the proper name Nanak has been dropped by the *B40* compiler and his sources. [illegible] characteristic term when referring to Guru Nanak.

[6] Bedi : a Khatri *got* ('sub-caste'). Although *khatrī* is a cognate form of *kṣatriya* the Khatris constitute a mercantile *jāti*, not a warrior caste, the name *khatrī* evidently

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[this Evil Age], the Kaliyug, Baba Nanak proclaimed[7] the divine Name,[8] [and] in the Kaliyug he founded the community of his followers (*panth*).[9]

Baba Nanak was born [in the year] Samvat 1526.[10] He was born on the third day of Vaisakh,[11] on a moonlit night, during that fragrant hour[12] [which is] the last watch of the night. Celestial music[13] resounded in Heaven.[14] Three hundred and thirty million gods hailed [him] and with them the eighty-four Siddhs, the nine Naths,[15] the sixty-four Yoginis,[16]

having been assumed as a means of advancing status. Khatris are noted for their enterprise and although there is still a heavy concentration in the Punjab many have carried their mercantile skills to other parts of India and abroad. Administration is another area within which Khatris have played a distinguished part, two conspicuous examples being Raja Todar Mal and Sawan Mal of Multan. Within the Sikh community they have commanded a particular respect because all the Gurus were Khatris. A high proportion have been Sahaj-dhari Sikhs, followers of the Gurus who do not observe the Khalsa code of discipline. See *ESC*, pp. 98-101.

[7]*dharātā*. The verb implies a proclamation which was heeded, one which produced positive belief in the divine Name.

[8]*nām*: the truth concerning God, "the revelation of God's being, the only proper object of contemplation, the standard to which the individual's life must conform, the essential means of purification and salvation". *GNSR*, p. 195.

[9]*panth*, or *mārg*, way. The word is commonly translated as 'sect', a rendering which in this context would imply an excessive clarity of definition and of distinction from other such groups. Any *panth* which survives for several generations will normally crystallize and define itself to a degree which warrants the appelation 'sect', 'community', or 'religion'. In the early stages of its development, however, it will commonly lack this sharpness of meaning. See W. H. McLeod, "On the word *panth*". *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 1978.

[10]*samvat* or *sammat*, dating according to the Vikrama Era. S. 1526 corresponds to AD 1468-69.

[11]15th April, 1469. Vaisakh, or Baisakh, is the first month of the lunar year. The *B40* compiler is here following his *Narrative Ib* source and so gives the *Narrative* date. For a discussion of the considerable controversy relating to Guru Nanak's date of birth see *GNSR*, pp. 94-97.

[12]*amrit velal*, 'the nectarean time'.

[13]*anāhad śabadu*, 'the unstruck Word'. The term descended from the Nath yogis to Guru Nanak, and from Nanak to subsequent Sikh usage. It moved progressively away from the hatha-yoga context in which it was employed by the Naths and in this janam-sakhi context seems to indicate resounding strains of triumph in heaven. For Nath usage and that of Guru Nanak see *GNSR*, pp. 191-92, 225.

[14]*bābe nānaku ke darabār*, 'the court of Baba Nanak'. This is obviously an error by the compiler. The *Colebrooke*, *Hāfizābād*, and *Ādi Sākhīs* text all have *parameśar ke darabār*, 'the court of God'. *Pur JS*, p. 1. *AS*, p. 3.

[15]For Siddhs and Naths see *GNSR*, pp. 11-12, 243-44. A few janam-sakhi manuscripts offer lists of the nine Naths and eighty-four Siddhs. For examples see Kirpal Singh (ed.), *Janam-sākhī paramparā* (Patiala, 1969), Appendix pp. 296-97; and Seva Singh Sevak (ed.), *Prāchīn Janam-sākhī* (Jullundu 3. See also L.M. Joshi, "The Siddha tradition of India before Guru Nanak" in P.S. Bajwa (ed.), *Papers on Guru Nanak* (Patiala, 1969), pp. 16-46.

[16]Female demons, attendants of Durga who assist in the slaughtering of her victims and the consumption of their flesh. According to most puranic and tantric

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the fifty-two Virs,[17] and the six Jatis.[18] "God (*nirañkār*)[19] has come to save the world !" they cried. "Hail Him !"

1b At that time Kalu, a Bedi of the Khatri caste, lived in the village Talvandi of Rai Bhoa the Bhatti. There [Nanak] was born. As he grew older he began to play with other children, but his attitude differed from theirs, for he paid heed to the spiritual things of God. When he turned five he began to give utterance to deep and mysterious thoughts. Whatever he uttered was spoken with [profound] understanding, with the result that everyone's [doubts and questions] were resolved. The Hindus vowed that a god had taken birth in human form. The Muslims declared that a follower of divine truth had been born.

When Baba [Nanak] turned seven [his] father Kalu announced, "Nanak my son, you must go to school." Father Kalu took Baba Nanak to a teacher (*pāndhā*). "Pandha, teach Nanak," he said. "Certainly," replied the teacher. 1.

Sakhi : [Nanak's discourse] with [his] teacher.[20]

2a **ILLUSTRATION 1**

[Instruction by the Pandit]

2b The teacher wrote[21] on a wooden slate and Baba Nanakji studied[22] for one day.[23] The following day he remained silent.

"Why are you not studying ?" the teacher asked Baba Nanak.

literature there were only eight *yoginis*. Benjamin Walker, *Hindu World* (London, 1968), I. 509. In the *Kālikā* and *Vrihan* (*Nārada*) Upa-Puranas, however, the number is given as sixty-four. *MK*, p. 757.

[17]The fifty-two Heroes, listed in the *Kedār Khaṇḍ* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. *MK*, p. 633.

[18]The six great celibate ascetics : Hanuman, Bhisma-pitama, Laksman, Bhairav (Siva), Gorakh and Dattatreya. *MK*, p. 367.

[19]*nirañkār purukh* "the Being without form". *Pur JS*, p. 1, has *vaḍā bhagat*, "a great saint". The term *nirañkār* (*nir-ākār*) is used by Nanak in preference to *nirguṇ* ('without attributes") and assumes in his work a fundamental significance as an epithet of God. See *GNSR*, p. 172. In subsequent Sikh usage the preference for *nirañkār* became even more pronounced. Nanak has commonly been called Nanak Nirankar.

[20]Each sakhi concludes with the title of its successor.

[21]*Colebrooke* and *Hāfizābād* add *akharām paltis kī muhāraṇī*, "the thirty-five letters of the alphabet". *Pur JS*, p. 1.

[22]The text has *Parḥjāṭā*, 'caused to study' or 'taught'. It should obviously read *parhiā*, as in *Colebrooke* and *Hāfizābād*. *Pur JS*, p. 3.

[23]At this point the *Purātan* janam-sakhis insert Guru Nanak's *Āsā Patī* (pp. 432-34. *Pur JS*, pp. 1-3.) The obvious relevance of the composition to this sakhi evidently proved irresistable to the *Colebrooke* compiler and the work was duly interpolated at this point.

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"What is it that you have studied and wish to teach me?" responded Baba Nanak.

"I have studied everything," answered the teacher. "Income and expenditure, revenue, the Vedas and the Sastras.[24] I have studied them all."

"These [subjects] which you have studied dre all useless," declared Baba Nanak. He then sang a shabad in [the measure] *Sirī Rāg*.[25]

Sirī Rāg

Burn your worldly affections, grind [them] and prepare ink; let [your] mind be as paper of excellent quality.

Let love be the pen and [your] reason the scribe; enquire of the Guru and write as He directs.

Inscribe the divine Name, inscribe the praises [of God]; inscribe His measureless infinity! 1.

3a [If] one who is [already] literate[26] learns how to write an account [such as this] then in the place where accounts are scrutinised his will receive the stamp of divine approval.[27] *Refrain*[28].

"Pandit," said Baba [Nanak], "that which one has to study [under a worldly teacher] is all useless. Apart from the Name of God everything that is studied is useless."

The teacher then asked, "Nanakji, tell me what else I should study. What should I study in order to obtain salvation?"

"Listen, Swami," replied Baba Nanak, "that which the world studies is of this nature: its ink is made from soot, its paper from hemp, and its pen of read. The *man*[29] is the

[24]"The Vedas and all other [Hindu] scriptures". The term *śāstra* may designate any book, treatise, or manual, and will commonly be preceded by another word specifying the particular subject (e.g. the *Arthaśāstra*, "Treatise on Polity"). When used in isolation *śāstra* will normally denote *dharma-śāstra*, sacred scripture. The usage may embrace the Veda, but generally refers to the post-Vedic religious literature.

[25]*Sirī Rāgu* 6, *AG* p. 16.

[26]*pariā*. The *AG* has *bābā* ("Learn, O Baba,..."). This was evidently altered because it did not accord with the pattern of conversation followed in the sakhi.

[27]Lit. 'the true stamp'. The reference is to the conventional image of judgement in the court of God. Dharamraj, assisted by Chitr and Gupt, acts as prosecutor. Following in individual's death the record of his good and bad deeds is scrutinised, a balance struck, and the appropriate penalty or reward issued.

[28]*rahāu* (lit. 'pause', 'stop') marks the refrain of a shabad. It ntly contains the central idea of the shabad in which it occurs. *Śabadārath*, p. 9, n†.

[29]In Nanak's usage *man* (*manas*) designates a human faculty combining the mind, heart, and soul of conventional western usage. *GNSR*, pp. 178-81. In this, as in many other instances, Nanak's terminology reflects a usage widely current in the

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scribe, and what does it write ? It inscribes the entanglements of *māyā*[30] and all that it writes is diseased. The inscription which is true is as follows : Let your ink be made by burning
3b [your] worldly affections, let inner love be your pen, and make [your] mind the scribe. And what is written ? The Name of God is written ! [His] praises are written, and by the writing thereof all evil is wiped away.[31] Infinite glory is written and thereby the human frame finds peace. Beyond comprehending are the end and limit of [this inscription] ! Panditji, if you have read this inscription then [continue to] read it and teach me also how to read it. Otherwise you should neither study nor teach. Listen pandit ! Wheresoever your soul may go this [divine] learning will be as a banner in your hand[32] !"

"Nanakji !" exclaimed the pandit, "from whom did you
4a learn this ? But listen Nanak. If anyone takes[33] the Name of God what reward will he receive ?" Baba Nanak then sang the second stanza.

They who give utterance[34] to the divine Name will receive in the hereafter renown, eternal joy, and the everlasting satisfaction of [all honourable] desires.

Upon their countenances will glisten the mark[35] [of divine approval.

devotional literature of Northern India during his period. This area of correspondence was by no means confined to the Sant tradition. A striking parallel from contemporary Sufi usage is provided by the *Rushd-nāma* of Sheikh 'Abdal-Quddus. S.A.A. Rizvi and S. Zaidi, *Alakh-Bānī* (Aligarh, 1971), p. *xi*.

[30]*GNSR*, pp. 185-87.

[31]Meditation on the divine Name obliterates both the inclination to perform evil deeds and also the evil consequences in karmic terms of deeds already performed.

[32]When you approach the divine court of God this banner will proclaim your right to enter and to occupy a place of honour.

[33]The verb used is *leṇā*, 'to take'. This should not be construed in the Hebraic sense of "taking the name of God". In the Adi Granth and in subsequent Sikh usage *nām leṇā* or *nām laiṇā* corresponds to the more common terms *nām japṇā*, *nām simaranā*, and *nām abhlās*. It accordingly designates the technique of 'remembering the divine Name', meditation on the divine Name, devout repetition of a particular name of God with the intention of absorbing the qualities of the divine Name into one's inner being and then expressing them in all that one thinks, says, and does, see *GNSR*, pp. 214-19.

[34]*mukhī*, lit. 'in whose mouth'. This evidently represents a move away from the firm emphasis which Nanak laid upon the interiorising of the Name. The *AG* version has *mani*, 'they who hold in their *man*'. (See note 29.) The shift from *man* to 'mouth' suggests a reversion to belief in the efficacy of simple repetition, an assumption which is confirmed by other references in this janam-sakhi. Nanak's emphasis is by no means wholly abandonned, but there is nevertheless a distinct move back towards a doctrine of simple repetition.

[35]*ṭikā*, *ṭīkā*, *tilak* : a mark applied to the forehead as an ornament, as a sectarian mark, as a symbol of betrothal, or as part of an investiture ceremony. The last of these meanings is indicated in this case, the occasion being the regenerate man's elevation to the court of God.

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But all this] comes only if grace [is bestowed].
Without it [all utterance] is but futile wind.
Its meaning [is as follows]:[36]

Baba Nanak said, "Listen pandit. Wheresoever your soul may go this remembrance of God will be accounted to you a meritorious deed bringing everlasting happiness, eternal joy, and the treasure of supreme blessedness. Upon those who hear and believe there will be bestowed sublime glory in the court [of God]. One does not gain access to God by means of mere talk."

The pandit was astounded. "Nanankji", he said, "they
4b who take the Name of God are known by none, nor do they receive sustenance. [Consider, in contrast to these faithful but apparently unrewarded devotees,] a person who exercises sovereignty, commits evil, and does not remember God. Tell me, in what manner will he be requited—he who exercises sovereignty and does not fear God ?" [In reply] Baba Nanak sang the third stanza.

One comes [into this world] and another goes; and some there be who are exalted with the title of chief.
One is born to beg and another [to rule over] a mighty court.
[But when both the lowly and the exalted] have passed on it will be revealed [in the hereafter] that without the divine Name all is in vain. 3.

Its meaning [is as follows] :

Baba Nanak said, "Listen pandit. One comes and another goes. One is a king and another begs his food from him. Pandit, they who exercise rule here, who enjoy comfort and pleasure and who do not remember God, in the hereafter they shall receive the kind of punishment which a washerman gives
5a to clothes, an oil grinder to oil-seeds, and a miller to grain. This is the punishment which they will receive. They will be cast into the pit of hell.[37] Such will be the condition of those who enjoy the comforts and pleasures of sovereignty but neglect to repeat the Name of God, whereas they who remember God and live by begging shall receive high honour in the court [of God]."[38]

[36] *tis kā arath* (or *tis kā param arath*), the conventional formula used to begin the paraphrase or exegetical supplement which commonly follows a scriptural quotation.

[37] *narak-kund*, a pit or abyss of hell. The traditional number of h is many as eighty-six have been enumerated, *MK*, p. 512.

[38] The meaning enunciated in the paraphrase does not correspond to that of the stanza uttered by Nanak.

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The pandit was astounded. "This is a great bhagat !"[39] he exclaimed. Then he said, "Nanakji, you express these [deep] thoughts, [but you should remember that] you are still a child. Observe what pleasures [may be derived from the company of] mother, father, wife and family. [Enjoy these pleasures.] Your end is not yet at hand." Baba Nanak then sang the fourth stanza.

In deep dread of Thy awesome majesty my body wastes away.
They who bore the [exalted] name of sultan or khan have [like all men] come to dust.
5b Nanak, when one departs [this life] sundered are all the ties of false affections.[40] 4.

Its meaning [is as follows] :

Baba Nanak said, "Pandit, such is [my] fear of the Lord that my body trembles. Those who here [in this world] were khans and sultans have all died and turned to dust. They whose commands were heard [and obeyed], the fear of whom made the very earth shake, even they have gone. Listen pandit. Upon what shall I bestow a false love ? We too shall lay aside this garment. Let us [therefore] worship Him who will take possession of [our] souls. Why must we love this world with a false love ?"

The pandit was astounded and did obeisance. Accepting him as one perfected he said, "Do what you believe to be right."

[BABA NANAK'S BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE]

Baba [Nanak] then returned home and remained sitting [there]. He did nothing. If sitting he remained seated and
6a if sleeping he remained asleep. He remained withdrawn[41] and kept the company of faqirs. Father Kalu was perplexed, [thinking], "What manner of child is that that he should act in this way ?"

When Baba Nanak turned nine he was invested with

[39]*bhagat* (*bhakta*) : one who practises *bhagatī* (*bhakti*, adoration) ; one who has earned renown for the fervour of his devotion to God.

[40]The ephemeral bonds of worldly love which bind a man to mundane things, as opposed to the indissoluble bonds which can bind him to things eternal.

[41]*udās*. The word normally means forlorn, sad, indifferent as a result of dejection. It is, however, commonly used (as in this context) to indicate an indifference to worldly affairs arising from otherworldy ideals. In this sense it assumes the meaning of 'ascetic', 'renunciant', or 'withdrawn from worldly concerns' of ascetics who claim as their founder Siri Chand, the son of Guru Nanak, are known as Udasis. See note 408.

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the sacred thread.[42] Then he was set to learing Turki,[43] but having studied some Turki he reverted to sitting [silently] in the house, imparting the thoughts of his heart to no one. The people [of the village] said to Father Kalu, "You should arrange a marriage for this son [of yours], Kalu. Perhaps that will set his spirit free from [this premature] renunciation."

[Accepting their advice] Kalu set about thinking how a marraige might be arranged for Nanak, [for he agreed that if this were to be done] all would be well. A betrothal was negotiated with Mula, a Chona Khatri by caste, and when Baba [Nanak] turned twelve he was married [to Mula's daughter]. But he showed no interest [in any of these domestic arrangements]. He did not speak to his mother, his father, or his wife, nor did he concern himself with household
6b affairs. His family all said, "Now he goes off with faqirs !"

[One day] Father Kalu said, "Nanak my son, those buffaloes which are standing [over there] — take them out to graze." Acknowledging [his father's command] Baba Nanak [proceeded to obey it]. Another sakhi follows. 20

ILLUSTRATION 2

[THE RUINED CROP RESTORED]

7a Baba [Nanak] went to graze the buffaloes, and having done so he brought them home at dusk. Next day [when] he went out [again] he left the buffaloes [unattended and] fell asleep at the edge of a wheat-field. [While he slept] the the buffaloes trampled the crop and ate the wheat.

When the crop of wheat had been demolished its owner appeared and cried, "Brother, why have you ruined my field ? Explain this outrage !"

"Nothing of yours has been ruined, brother," replied Baba Nanak. "What harm is there in a buffalo putting its head down to graze ? God will make it a blessing."

[The owner] was not mollified and began to argue with Baba [Nanak]. Quarrelling all the way Baba Nanak and the Bhatti[44] who owned the field went together to Rai Bular,[45]

[42] *Hāfizābēd* omits this detail. *Colebrooke* may have included it, but at this points two folios are missing.

[43] Turki, 'the language of the Turks', refers to what should properly have been called Farsi (Persian).

[44] The Rajput tribe to which Rai Bhoa had belonged. See note 4.

[45] Traditionally the son of Rai Bhoa (see note 4) although none of the early janam-sakhis mention this relationship. Bhai Gurdas makes no reference to him and the *Miharbān Janam-sākhī* states that Rai Bhoa was the landlord of Talvandi during Nanak's childhood. *Mih JS* I. 25. *GNSR*, p. 106.

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the Bhatti who was headman[46] of Talvandi. [When he had
7b heard the owner's complaint] the headman commanded, "Summon Kalu."

"Nanak is simple-minded," said the people who were standing nearby. "What can you say to him ! Let Kalu be called."

They summoned Kalu and Rai Bular said [to him], "Kalu, rebuke this son [of yours], for he has ruined another man's field. You have let him remain simple-minded. Make restitution for this damage to another's [property], brother, or you will appear before the Turks."[47]

"What can I do ?" replied Kalu. "He wanders around [like] a crazed fool."

"I pardon *your* offence, Kalu," said Rai Bular, "but you must make restitution for the damage."

Then Baba Nanak spoke. "Nothing has been ruined here," [he said]. "He is not telling the truth."

8a "Everything in my field has been ruined !" exclaimed the owner of the field. "I have been robbed ! Give me justice or else I shall have [him] summoned before the Turks."

"Not a blade of grass has been eaten nor even broken," said Baba Nanak. "Send your man to see."

Rai Bular sent his messenger and what should the messenger see when he went to inspect the field ? [He found] that not a blade of grass had been harmed ! He returned and said, "Nothing has been harmed." [Hearing this] Rai Bular declared the owner of the field to be a liar, and Baba Nanak and Kalu both returned home.

In accordance with the will [of God] two sons, Lakhmi Das and Siri Chand, were born to Baba [Nanak, but these events] did not cure Baba [Nanak's] withdrawal [from wordly concerns. Heedless of such things] he would go to the forest and sit there alone.

8b One day Baba [Nanak] went to a grove and fell asleep under a tree. Another sakhi follows.

ILLUSTRATION 3

[THE TREE'S STATIONARY SHADOW][48]

[Having gone to the grove and stretched out under the
9a tree Baba Nanak] slept through the day without stirring. Rai

[46] *chaudharī*. See note 926.

[47] The officials representing Sultan Bahlul Lodi.

[48] For the Buddhist version of this legend see E.B. Cowell (ed.), *The Jataka*, vol. vi, pp. 246-47.

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Bular had come out hunting and [while passing that way[49]] he happened to observe someone sleeping under a tree. The shadows of the other trees had moved, but the shadow of that tree remained stationary. "Wake him," said Rai Bular. "Let us see who it is." When they woke him [they discovered that] it was Kalu's son. "Friends," said Rai Bular, "I have seen what happened yesterday and [now] this also I have witnessed. It is not without meaning. There is something of God's grace in this."

Rai Bular returned home and when he arrived he summoned Kalu. "Kalu," he said, "do not maltreat this son, no matter what he says. He is an Exalted One[50] and it is for his sake that my town exists. You also are blessed, Kalu, for it
9b is as your son that Nanak has been born."

"The ways of God are known to God alone," observed Kalu, and returned home.

[THE TRUE FIELD AND THE TRUE MERCHANDISE]

Baba Nanak [now] consorted only with faqirs and would have nothing to do with anyone else. The members of his family were all grieved. "Nanak is out of his mind," they said. His mother came to him and said, "Son, it is not right for you to associate with faqirs. You have a home and a family. Take up some employment and renounce this persistent concern for foolish things. People laugh at us, saying that Kalu's son has become an idler."

His mother's words made no impression on Nanak's heart. He remained lost in reverie, speaking to no one. [Once] he fell and remained prostrate for four days. Baba Nanak's wife, after she had massaged him, went to her mother-
10a in-law and wailed, "Why are you sitting [doing nothing] when your son has been lying [senseless] for several days? He neither eats nor drinks."

His mother went to him and said, "You achieve nothing by lying down, [my] son. Have something to eat and drink. Consider taking up farming or seek some employment, for your family are all anxious. If there is anything you do not like, son, then ignore it. We shall say nothing. Why do you remain lost in a dream?"

Then Kalu received the news [of Nanak's condition. He came to him and] said, "What can we say [that you, son? It is good to be employed. If the sons of Khatris

[49] *Pur JS*, p. 7.
[50] *mahā-purukh*.

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have the capital do they not engage in business? It is good to work! Son, our crop stands ripe outside. If you labour
10b in it [the crop] will not go to waste. Then everyone will say, 'Bravo! Kalu's son has recovered.' The field, [my] son, is the owner's responsibility. [Nobody else will harvest it.]"

Baba Nanak then spoke. "Father," he said, "I have cultivated a different field, and I have kept it productive. I have ploughed it, I prepared the soil, and I have watched over it day and night. Father, If I cannot protect my own field how can I be concerned about someone else's?"

Kalu was perplexed. "Just see!" he declared. "Whatever is he saying?"

Then Kalu said, "When did you plough a different field? Cease this foolish talk in future and if you wish then I shall let you plough [your own] particular field for the next harvest. Then we shall see how you manage."

11a "I have already ploughed [my] field, father," answered Baba Nanak, "and it has excellent soil. It looks wonderful."

"We have never seen this ripened field of yours, son" said Kalu. "How can we know what you are taking about?"

"You will hear about the field which I have ploughed, father," answered Nanak. Baba [Nanak] then sang a shabad in the *Soraṭh* (measure).[51]

Rāg Soraṭh

Let your *man* serve as ploughman, make [virtuous] actions the ploughing, and let [diligent] effort be the irrigating of the field [which is your] body.

[In this field] sow the [divine] Name as seed, level it with contentment,[52] and fence it with humility.

Let your actions be those of love, [for thus will the seed] sprout [and thus] you will see your home prosper. 1.

Heedless one[53]! Wordly possessions cannot accompany [you into the hereafter]!

Such affections have led the world astray; few there be who have perceived [their true nature]. *Refrain*

Kalu then said, "Nanak, take up shopkeeping. [Because we are Khatris] our [proper] field is a shop." [In reply to

[51] *Soraṭhi* 2, *AG* p. 595.

[52] *santokh*, the condition of being which transcends both pain and pleasure. *Śabadārath*, p. 595, n. 13.

[53] The *AG* version has *bābā*. Cf. note 26. The original has again been altered [illegible] for the same reason, namely that 'Baba' does not fit the person to whom the shabad is allegedly being addressed. In this instance *bābā* has been replaced by *bholiā*, 'heedless one'.

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11b this suggestion] Baba [Nanak] sang the second stanza.

Let the increase of your years be a shop stocked with the merchandise of the True Name.
Let the faculty wherewith you comprehend the divine Word be your warehouse, and store therein [your stock of the divine Name].[54]
Deal with [other] traders [in the divine Name] and harvest a profit of Truth within your *man*. 2.

Kalu then said, "If you are not prepared to take up shopkeeping, son, then procure horses and engage in trade. Your spirit is withdrawn [from normal worldly concerns]. Take up trading and also see some other places. We shall say that you are away on business and that you will return soon."

[In reply] Baba [Nanak] sang the third stanza.

Let the hearing of sacred scriptures be your commerce; load [your wares on] the horses of Truth and be on your way.
Let good deeds be [the payment of your] travel expenses and do not suppose [that this business can be put off until] the morrow.
Proceed [forthwith] to the realm of the Formless One; [there] you shall dwell in peace. 3.

"Nanak," said Kalu, "you are a stranger [to us because of these curious notions]. Go, take [government] service.
12a Your sister's husband,[55] Jai Ram, is the steward of Daulat Khan the Pathan.[56] Go to him in Sultanpur and enter his service. Perhaps you will like it there. [I am not saying this because I want you to support us financially, for] we have renounced [all intention of taking any part of] your earnings. If you remain withdrawn, [my] son, everyone will say that Kalu's boy has become a faqir and people will speak ill of us."

Baba [Nanak] then sang the fourth stanza.

[54]The 'warehouse' (*bhaḍ-sāl*) evidently represents the bhagat's own appropriation of the divine Name, and the 'shop' (*haṭu*) his communication, or 'retailing', of it to others.

[55]*bhanvaiyā* (*bahiṇoī* in the *Purātan* version), sister's husband. *Pur JS*, p. 9. In the *B40*, *Purātan*, and *Miharbān* janam-sakhis the existence of a sister is indicated only by indirect references of this kind and her name is nowhere given. Elsewhere Jai Ram refers to Nanak as his *sālā* (*śyālak*, wife's brother). *Pur JS*, p. 13. The *GR* and the *Bālā* janam-sakhis give her name as Nanaki, although the *GR* reference occurs in a passage which must be regarded as legend. None of this need suggest, however, that Nanak did not have a sister, nor that the st necessarily be rejected. See *GNSR*, pp. 69, 102-4.

[56]Daulat Khan Lodi. *GNSR*, p. 106.

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To apply the mind [to meditation] is [the only true] service; to enshrine the divine Name in [one's] heart [the only gainful] employment.
Strive to check the evil [within you] and others will call you blessed.
Nanak, if [God] should look with grace [upon you within you] will well up transcendent bliss.[57] 4.

"Father," said Baba [Nanak], "you have heard how my field was sown. My field is a fertile one, father, and upon it I place complete reliance, for [I know] it will yield [the means of paying] all the royal taxes.[58] Sons, daughters, the whole
12b family—all will be contented. The debt owing to the Master will also be discharged. Faqirs and brothers will all reap profit. The Master whose [land] I have tilled cares well for me. Ever since the day when I entered His service I have been wondrously content. Whatever I ask he gives. Father, I have discovered such a great Lord ! Trade, service, shop-keeping—I have renounced them all."

Kalu was baffled. "Son," he protested, "we have neither heard of nor seen your master."

"They who have seen my Master have praised Him," answered Baba [Nanak]. Guru Baba [Nanak then] sang a shabad in *Āsā* [raga].[59]

Rāg Āsā

Having heard of Thy greatness everyone speaks of it, But
13a only by seeing Thee can one know the immensity of Thy greatness.
No one can know or express Thy worth;
Those who tell of Thee are gathered up into Thee. 1.

Great art Thou, my Lord, ineffable and of excellences beyond comprehending. None can encompass the measure of Thy greatness. *Refrain*

The exegetes gathered together and expounded the scriptures ;
All extollers of Thy worth together determined that worth ;
Men of understanding, men of contemplation, gurus and gurus' gurus,
[All proclaimed They greatness and yet] not a fragment of They greatness could they express ! 2.

[57]Lit. 'the colour of the four-fold quality'. See *Srī Gurū Granth* 1950), p. 490.
[58]Taxes levied by the divine court of God.
[59]*Āsā* 2, *AG* p. 9; repeated as *Āsā* 1, *AG* pp. 348-49.

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All truth, all [the merits of] austerities, all goodness,
All the impressive works of Siddhs, [all are from Thee].
Without Thee none has reached the mystical consummation,
But when Thy grace is received no obstacle remains. 3.

One speaks [of Thee], but how can one comprehend [Thy majesty] ?
Thine is a storehouse filled with excellences beyond telling.
He to whom Thou givest [support] what need has he of any other help ?
Nanak declares : Thou art the True One and all is in Thy hands. 4.

[After Baba Nanak had concluded the shabad his father tried once more to convince him.] "Forget these things,"
13b Kalu said again. "Follow the common path. There is little to life if one does not work." Nanak however, remained silent. Kalu arose and went off to his work, saying, "He is no use to us. [Let us make some other arrangement to ensure that] our fields are protected from trespassers."

Then all of the Bedi family began to lament. "What a tragedy that Kalu's son has gone mad," they all said. Baba Nanak remained silent and for three months he lay inside, eating and drinking nothing. The whole Bedi family was despondent, and all said to Kalu, "Why do you sit [idle]
14a while your son lies prostrate ? Call a physician and have your son treated. God may conceal a hundred thousand in a [wisp of] straw.[60] People will say that Kalu does not have his son treated because of the expense. What does the money matter if your son is restored to health ?"

Kalu arose and went to call a physician. The physician came and standing [beside] Baba [Nanak] grasped his wrist. Another sakhi follows : [a discourse] with the physician.[61]

14b

ILLUSTRATION 4

[62][BABA NANAK'S DISCOURSE WITH THE PHYSICIAN]

[When the physician grasped his wrist] Guru Nanak withdrew his arm and, drawing in his feet, sat up. "What are you doing, physician ?" he asked.

"I am diagnosing the illness which has disturbed your state of mind," answered the physician.

[60]Perhaps a small expense will produce wonderful results.

[61]*vaid.*

[62]Four folios are missing from the *B40* manuscript at this po..... see above, pp. 28-31. In order to fill the gap left by the missing folios the text of the corresponding portion of *LDP 194* has been utilised (loc. cit., ff. 19b-25b). The passage printed in smaller type represents a translation of the *LDP 194* extract.

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Guru Nanak laughed and recited [the following] shaloks :

They called a physician [to practise his] art, to seize [my] wrist and feel [my] pulse.
The ignorant physician was unaware that the pain [is in my heart] !63

Return to your home, physician, and do not take my pulse.
A little help I can give myself, but what medicine can you prescribe ?64

You can be accounted a master physician only if first you can diagnose the disease.
Seek that medicine whereby all diseases are driven away.65

I was seized with agony and the physician came. He stood [over me and prescribed] much medicine.
My body weeps, my spirit cries out, but the physician is unable to prescribe any treatment.
Return to your home, physician; you know nothing.
The Creator who caused this agony—He, Nanak, as the One who cures it.66

Baba [Nanak] then sang another shabad concerning physicians, [a shabad] in *Malār* raga.67

Bring no medicine, O ignorant physician !
For it is my heart which suffers torment. *Refrain*

Pain lingers, agony still racks my frame.
Foolish one ! such medicine is worthless.
Agony is a poisonous plant; the Name of God its cure.
Grind [the Name] on the stone of tranquillity, [pour it into] the flask of Truth.
Take it daily and your body shall never waste away.
And at the end it shall be Death which is cast down.

Make your desires a pyre, [pour over it] the oil of your craving.
And set to it the torches of lust and anger.
Sacrifice, oblation, the reading of sacred texts, all [are futile].
Only that which pleases Thee is acceptable in Thy sight.

Kingship, possessions, beauty, and riches—all are but [transient] clouds.68

63*Vār Malār* 3:1, *AG* p. 1279.
64This shalok is not in the Adi Granth.
65*Vār Malār* 3:2, *AG* p. 1279. This shalok is by Guru Angad, not Guru Nanak, and is incomplete.
66This shalok is not in the Adi Granth. The *Miharbān* version combines this and the second shalok in a single, separate quotation. *Mih JS* I.49.
67The refrain and first stanza together correspond to the refrain of the Adi Granth version of *Malār* 7, except that the Adi Granth refrain lacks the second of the two lines which constitute the brief refrain of this *LDP 194* version. (*AG*, p. 1256.) The remainder of the shabad as recorded in this *LDP 194* version consists of *Malār* 8, minus its refrain. (*AG*, pp. 1256-57.) The stanzas follow a sequence different from that of the Adi Granth. At this point the *Colebrooke* and *Ādi Sākhīs* versions quote the complete text of *Malār* 7. (*Pur JS*, pp. 11-12. *AS*, p. 13.) The *Hāfizābād* manuscript quotes both *Malār* 7 and *Malār* and the *Miharbān Janam-sākhī* quotes both, together with exegetical supplements. (*Mih JS* I.47-52.) The early *Bālā* janam-sakhis omit the entire sakhi.
68The *LDP 194* reading *nām* is obviously an error. The Adi Granth reading is *chhānv*.

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And when the chariot [of the sun] ascends the true landscape comes into view.
In the hereafter name and caste count for nothing.
There it is ever day; here eternal night.

Honour[69] is the paper, Thy Name the insignia
He who receives this treasured inscription
Blessed is he when he enters the House [of God].
And blessed the mother who gave him birth.

The physician, filled with awe, moved back and stood up. "This illness is nothing, brother," he said [to Kalu]. "Do not worry. He will cure the ills of others."[70] Baba [Nanak arose and] went outside.

Now the husband of Baba [Nanak's] sister was Jai Ram,[71] steward of Dault Khan the Pathan and a resident of Sultanpur. He had heard that Nanak lived in a state of [permanent] ecstasy and was doing no work, and so he wrote a letter [saying], "Come and visit us, Nanak". When Guru Nanak read the letter he said, "I shall pay Jai Ram a visit". [His] relatives [were relieved]. "It will be very good if he goes," they said. "Perhaps he will like it there".

[And so] Guru Nanak prepared to go to Sultanpur. When he was about to live his wife began to weep, saying, "You showed me no affection when you were with me. Once you have gone to another place you will never return". Baba [Nanak, chiding her,] replied, "Innocent one! What difference will it make where I am? [No matter where I may be] I am of no use to you." But she begged him again, saying, "When you were at home I ruled the earth, [but now] this world holds nothing for me". The Guru's heart softened and he said, "Do not worry. You will rule for ever."

"I cannot remain behind," she replied. "Take me with you."

"God willing," he answered. "I must go alone, but if my undertaking prospers I shall send for you. [You must] obey the will [of God]."

At this she remained silent.

[SULTANPUR]

Baba Nanak then took leave of his relatives and set out for Sultanpur.[72] When he arrived there Jai Ram was enormously pleased to see him. "Are you well, Brother Nanak?" [he asked]. Jai Ram then went to Daulat Khan and laid a petition before him. "Nawabji," he said, "my wife's brother has recently arrived, a well educated [young man]. He desires to meet you."

"Go and bring him," commanded the Nawab.

Jai Ram brought him [and Nanak] appeared [before the Nawab] bearing a [suitable] gift. The Khan was delighted. "What is his name?" he asked. "His name is Nanak," replied Jai Ram. "He appears to be a fine upright

[69] *AG* reading : *tapu*, austerity or mortification.

[70] At this point the *Colebrooke* and *Hāfizābād* manuscripts introduce Guru Nanak's *Gauri* 17, AG p. 156. Unlike the two *Malār* shabads its subject bears no evident relevance to the topic of the sakhi.

[71] *GNSR*, p. 104.

[72] The town of Sultanpur (or Sultanpur Lodi) is situated in trict, sixteen miles south of Kapurthala and near the confluence of the Satluj and Beas rivers. Its location on the imperial highway between Delhi and Lahore, and near the Beas crossing, made it a town of considerable importance during Mughal times.

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person," said the Khan. "Let him take complete charge of my affairs." The Khan then bestowed a robe of honour on him and Baba [Nanak], much pleased, returned home with Jai Ram.

[Baba Nanak duly] began his work, and everyone was well satisfied. "Excellent !" they all declared. "He is a worthy one." All spoke highly of him before the Khan and the Khan was delighted. With what he received as a food allowance Nanak bought enough for his own needs and the remainder he devoted to God's work. Later Mardana the Dum[73] came

It was sacked by Nadir Shah in 1739 and subsequently suffered almost total eclipse when in the mid-nineteenth century the British aligned their new Grand Trunk Road to the north. It is now no more than a small town, although its numerous ruins still bear testimony to its earlier importance and it currently shows clear signs of new growth. Alexander Cunningham discribed the town as follows :

The old town of Sultanpur, called Dalla Sultanpur to distinguish it from the numerous other places of the same name, is one of the largest towns in the Jalandhar Doab. The people say--and their statement is confirmed by Erskine—that it was built by Daulat Khan Lodi ; the great mound on which the Badshahi serai now stands, and the numerous ancient coins found there, prove beyond all doubt that the site must have been occupied at a very early date. The Muhammadan town of Sultanpur was most probably built by Daulat Khan Lodi, when he was Governor of Lahor during the reign of Ibrahim Lodi, and he must therefore also have been the founder of the fort which is mentioned in the 'Ain Akbari' and which is said to have stood on the high mound that is now occupied by the Badshahi serai of Jahangir.

Sultanpur is situated on the left bank of the Kalna or Kali-Veni River, 24 miles to the west-south-west of Jalandhar. Its position corresponds almost exactly with that of the great monastery of *Ta-mo-su-fa-na* or *Tâmasa-vana*, the "black forest" which Hwen Thsang places 25 miles to the south-west of Jalandhar...

I have a strong suspicion...that the wall of the serai must have been built on the foundations of the old Buddhist monastery...the town was very much larger during the reign of the Mugal emperors [than it is today] ; and at the time of Nadir Shah's invasion it is said to have possessed no less than 32 bazars and 5,500 shops...

The monastery of Tamasavana was famous as the place where Katyayama had composed the *Abhidharam-juana-prasthava*.

The countless stupas seen by Hwen Thsang were no doubt used up in the houses of the city when it was rebuilt by Doulat (*sic*) Khan; and whatever may have been left by him would have been carried off by the Mugal builders of Jahangir's serai. —*ASI* XIV.55-57, *passim*.

For the reference to Tamasavana see Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 629-645 A.D.* (London, 1094), vol. i, pp. 294-96.

During recent years Sultanpur has assumed increasing importance as a major pilgrimage centre. As Guru Nanak's birthplace at Nankana Sahib in Pakistan is inaccessible to all but a token group of pilgrims from India the scene of his association with Daulat Khan Lodi has become the principal focus for the annual celebration of his birth anniversary. This has begun to attract government munificence to Sultanpur in the form of educational institutions and public works. It seems clear that this trend will continue and the town will grow accordingly.

[73]Dom, more commonly Dum or Mirasi : a depressed caste of Mus and musicians. D. Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes* (Lahore, 1916), pp. 234-35, R.C. Temple, "Honorific Class Names in the Panjab", *IA* XI.119. For Mardana see *GNSR*, p. 106.

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from his home in Talvandi and stayed with Baba [Nanak], and after he had joined him others followed. All were introduced to the Khan and obtained allowances so that everyone, together with Baba [Nanak], had food to eat.

All were pleased with the favours he bestowed. Whenever he took a meal they would all come and sit with him. At night they would sing religious songs (*kīrtan*) during the [first] three watches[74] and then when it came to the last watch of the night he would go to the river and bathe. When day dawned he would dress, apply a *tilak*[75] [to his forehead], and having taken his instructions from the [administration] office he would sit down to write [orders and accounts].

[IMMERSION IN THE RIVER]

Every day [Baba Nanak] went to the river alone to bathe. One day he took a servant with him, and having removed his clothes in order to bathe he left them in the care of the servant. He then entered the water, but having done so[76] he failed to emerge. The servant said, "He will soon come out", but one watch passed and then another and then another and still he had not emerged. Standing [there] the servant became tired and perplexed. He went to the Khan and said, "Khanji,[77] Baba [Nanak] went into the river to bathe and has failed to come out. I stood watching until I grew tired, and when I was exhausted [I said to myself], 'He has not come out ! Whatever shall I do ?' And so I have come to the Nawab."

19a [Hearing this] the Khan mounted, rode out to the river, called boatmen, and commanded them : "My vazir has disappeared in the river. Cast a large net. I shall reward you if you find him." The boatmen searched until they were exhausted, but found nothing. The Khan was very sad. "Alas," he said, "Nanak was a fine vazir, but now he has gone from me."

[78]After three days had passed, however, Nanak emerged [from the water]. People saw him [coming] out of the river at the place [from which he had entered it].[79] "Nanak was lost in the river !" they exclaimed. "How has he returned ?"

[74]The first three of the four three-hour periods into which the night is divided, i.e. the period from 6 p.m. until 3 a.m.

[75]See note 35.

[76]At this point the *Purātan* janam-sakhis and the *Ādi Sākhīs* and their brief description of how Nanak was transported to the 'divine court'.

> While he was bathing [divine] messengers [came] at the command of God and carried him off the court of God. Entering [the divine court] the messengers announced, "Sire, Nanak is present." Nanak was granted an audience in the divine court and the Lord showed grace [towards him]. —*Pur JS*, p. 14.

[77]The *LDP 194* text has *nānak jī*, obviously an error by the copyist.

[78]At this point the *Purātan* janam-sakhis add a description of Nanak's reception in the divine court and of the commission, issued to him by God, to return to the world and preach the divine Name. In reply Nanak recites *S[illegible]apjī*, and *Dhanāsarī Āratī* (*AG*, pp. 14-15, 1-8, 13). The messeng[illegible]n to the river. *Pur JS*, pp. 14-16. The *Miharbān* version also includes an interview with God. *Mih JS* I. 88-89.

[79]Although the river is nowhere named in the narrative the reference must be to the Vein stream which flows past Sultanpur.

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[Without heeding them] Nanak proceeded to his house, entered it, and stripping it he gave everything away. Many
19b people assembled [at his house and when] news [of Nanak's return] reached the Khan he [too] came.

"Nanak does not speak," he observed.

"There is [some mysterious] meaning in the way Nanak has emerged from the river," declared the people.

"Friends," said the Khan, "something has happened to Nanak and it is a great tragedy." Sorrowfully he returned home.

[BABA NANAK'S DISCOURSE WITH DAULAT KHAN'S QAZI]

For several days Nanak wore only a small loin-cloth[80] and no other clothing. He went and sat with faqirs, and Mardana also went and sat with them. One day passed with him sitting thus and then the following day he spoke, saying: "There is neither Hindu nor Muslim." The people went to the Khan and reported, "Nanak says, 'There is neither Hindu nor Muslim'." The Khan replied, "Pay no heed to what he says. He is a faqir."

20a [The Sultanpur] qazi happened to be sitting [nearby][81]. "Khanji," said the qazi, "this is a remarkable thing that he has uttered: 'There is neither Hindu nor Muslim'."

"Go, call Nanak and bring him [here], "commanded the Khan. A man went and said, "Nanakji, the Khan summons you." Nanak replied, "What concern have I with your Khan?" [Hearing Nanak's words] the people said, "He has gone mad." "Mardana," said Baba [Nanak], "play the rabab."[82] Mardana played the rabab [and Baba Nanak] sang a shabad in *Mārū* raga.[83]

Rāg Mārū

Some call me a demon, some a ghoul,
And some a mere man, the wretched Nanak. 1.

[80] *kupīn*. a narrow strip of cloth passed between the legs, a small *langoṭ* (note 476).

[81] If in fact Daulat Khan was resident in Sultanpur during the period of Nanak's early manhood it can be assumed that the town will have been of sufficient administrative importance to warrant the appointment of a qazi. The imprecise reference to him as simply 'a qazi' (*ik qāzī*) suggests, however, that the narrator was not concerned with his official function. In popular tradition the qazi was cast in a conventional role as the legalistic persecutor of all that was sensible and generous. It is this traditional image of the qazi which appears in this anecdote as an appropriate foil to Baba Nanak's bounteous wisdom. For descriptio legal role see *Enc Isl* II.606-7, and *Ā'īn* II.41.

[82] A stringed instrument resembling a rebeck. According to Abu al-Fazl the rabab normally had six strings, but might have twelve or eighteen. *Ā'īn* III.254.

[83] *Mārū* 7, *AG* p. 991.

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Nanak is [indeed] possessed—but possessed by the Lord !
Naught save God knows he ! *Refrain*

[The world] considers me possessed when I am possessed by
20b the fear of God;
When I regard none but the One Master. 2.

[The world] considers me possessed when I serve the One [God];
When I submit myself to the divine Order and regard all other wisdom as vain. 3.

[The world] considers me possessed when I bestow my love upon the Lord;
When I regard myself as vile and all else in the world as good. 4.

Baba [Nanak] then relapsed into silence. Whenever he spoke he uttered [only] the words, "There is neither Hindu nor Muslim." The qazi again spoke to the Khan and he [again] commanded, "Go, call Nanak the faqir and bring him [here]." Messengers went [to bring him]. "Nanakji," they said, "the Khan summons you. The Khan says, 'For the sake of God show yourself [before me]. My soul yearns to see you. Grant us your presence but once'."

21a Nanak arose and went, saying, "Now my Master's summons has come. I shall go." Putting [his] woollen cord[84] around his neck he went to the Khan.

"Nanakji, beloved of God," said the Khan, "remove the woollen cord from your neck and don a garment.[85] You are a worthy faqir." Baba Nanak removed his woollen cord from around his neck and tied on a loin-cloth.

"Nanak," continued the Khan, "It is most unfortunate for me that a vazir such as you should have become a faqir." The Khan then sat Baba [Nanak] beside him and said. "Qazi, if you have anything to ask Nanak then question him in my presence. If you interrogate [him] outside you will be beaten."

"Nanakji," said the qazi, "you who say that there is neither Hindu nor Muslim, how have you reached this conclusion ?"

21b [In reply] Baba Nanak sang a shalok.[86]

SHALOK

It is difficult to regard [anyone] as a [true] Muslim. [Only]

[84] *mutkā* : a woollen cord worn by faqirs. *MK*, p. 738.
[85] *laki banu* : lit. 'drape your loins'.
[86] *Vār Mājh* 8 : 1, *AG* p. 141. The shalok contains puns and alliterations which cannot be reproduced in translation.

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if one possesses [certain qualities] can one be regarded as a [true] Muslim.

First let him find delight in the faith of the saints; [like them] let him scour away his possessions as with a rasp.

Submitting to his Master in faith let him break the cycle of death and rebirth.

Let him follow the will of God, let him joyfully accept [what] the Creator [desires], and let him empty himself [of pride].

Let him show mercy to all living things; then, Nanak, he can be called a [true] Muslim.[87] 1.

When Baba [Nanak] uttered this shalok the qazi was astounded. The Khan asked [him], "What crime has your questioning uncovered, Qazi ? This is [one of] God's saints."

[Meanwhile] the time had come for the second prayer.[88] Everyone arose and went off for the prayer and Baba [Nanak] also went with them. The qazi stood up before them all and recited the prayer. [While he was doing so] Baba [Nanak]
22a looked at him and laughed. The qazi noticed Nanak laughing and when the prayer was over he said, "Noble Khan, did you observe how Nanak was laughing while he watched us at prayer ? And you say that Nanak is a worthy faqir !"

"Nanakji," said the Khan, "what is this that the qazi says ?"

"Khanji," replied Baba [Nanak], "I have no concern with what the qazi does, but [this I do know that] the qazi's prayer could not be accepted [by God]. That is why I laughed."

The qazi protested. "Khanji, if he has discovered anything let him reveal my offence."

"Khanji," replied Baba [Nanak], "when the qazi stood up to conduct the prayer his mind was not on it. His mare has
22b foaled and a filly has been born. Leaving the filly he came [here]. In the paddock there is a well and he had said [to himself], 'Perhaps the filly will fall into the well.' [And so even as he was reciting the prayer] his attention had wandered there."

The qazi was confounded. He came and fell at Baba Nanak's feet, saying, "Praise be to Nanak ! God has greatly blessed him." The qazi was convinced. "Brother[s]," he cried, "the limits [of his greatness] are beyond comprehending !" Baba [Nanak] then recited a shalok.[89]

[87]The *Ādi Sākhīs* and the *Purātan* janam-sakhis add shaloks 1-3 of *pauṛī* 7, *AS*, p. 19. *Pur JS*, pp. 17-18. *AG*, pp. 140-41. See below note 91.

[88]*pesī* : the second daily prayer, observed by Muslims shortly after mid

[89]*Vār Sūhī* 8 : 1, *AG* p. 788. The shalok is by Guru Angad, not Guru Nanak. At this point the *Purātan* janam-sakhis quote a shalok which they attribute to Nanak, but which is not in the Adi Granth. *Pur JS*, p. 18.

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SHALOK

They who fear [God] fear nothing else ; they who fear not [God] know many [other] fears.
The paradox, Nanak, will be resolved when one passes [from this world into the next].[90]

Baba [Nanak then] recited more shaloks.[91]

SHALOK

Make mercy your mosque, faith your prayer-mat, and righteousness your Qur'an.
Make humility your circumcision, uprightness your fasting, and so you will be a [true] Muslim.
23a Make good works your Ka'bah, Truth your pir, and compassion your creed and your prayer.
Make the performance of what pleases [God] your rosary and, Nanak, He will uphold your honour.

Another's rights [must be] as the pig [to the Muslim] and the cow [to the Hindu], O Nanak.[92]
Your spiritual guide will commend you only if you spurn what is impure.[93]
Through mere talking one does not gain access to Paradise ; one finds salvation only by following Truth.
The adding of spices to polluted food will never render it pure.
He who utters falsehood, Nanak, will but earn (the reward of) falsehood.

[The Muslim] observes five prayers ; at five [different] hours he recites the five [prayers and to them he gives] five [different] names.
[Let these be your five prayers :] Let the first be truth, the second purity,[94] and the third petition to God on behalf of all.
Let the fourth be upright intent, and let the fifth be to praise and magnify [God].
Let [virtuous] deeds be your utterance of the *kalima*,[95] for [only] then shall you be called a [true] Muslim.[96]

[90] *AG* version : '...when one proceeds to the [divine] court'. *AG*, p. 788.
[91] *Vār Mājh* 7 : 1-3, *AG* pp. 140-41.
[92] The rights of others must be inviolable.
[93] Lit. '...only if you do not eat carrion.'
[94] *halāl*, sanctioned by religious law.
[95] The Muslim Confession of Faith ('There is no god but God, ...
[96] The last line of the shalok has been omitted :

> All else, Nanak, is falsehood ; and respect rendered to falsehood is [likewise] false. —*AG*, p. 141.

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After Baba [Nanak] had recited these shaloks [all the Muslims who had heard them]—sayyids, sheikhs, qazis, muftis,
23b [Daulat] Khan, and [the other] Khans [assembled there]—all were astounded. The Khan said to the qazis and muftis, "Nanak has discovered the Truth.[97] There is no further offence to be investigated." Wherever Baba [Nanak] looked everyone made salaam to him. Baba [Nanak] then sang a shabad in *Sirī Rāg*.[98]

Sirī Rāg

Do not imagine that [God] is to be found merely by speaking [of Him].

[If your affections repose in] pride of [worldly] possessions or in physical beauty your life is wasted. *Refrain*[99]

Let [virtuous] deeds be the soil, the divine Word[100] [your] seed, and daily apply the water of Truth.

Become [this kind of] cultivator, for thereby faith takes root and you acquire knowledge of both Paradise and Hell.[101] 1.

To hear [sacred scriptures], to make [our human] calculations[102]—all is futile [if one's] *man* is imbued with worldly affections.

Hold in affection, by the Master's grace, those who with atten-
24a tion undivided meditate upon the Ineffable [One].[103] 2.

The *man* is a frog, this human body the mud [in which it dwells, and like a foolish frog] it has failed to appreciate the beauty of the lotus.

The bumble bee [which flies to the lotus] is constantly [our] teacher ; how, it asks, can one understand when one lacks understanding ?[104] 3.

You observe the thirty days [of fasting][105] and the five [daily prayers, thinking that] perhaps the power of Satan will [thereby] be wholly destroyed.

[97]*haq*. It can also be translated, 'Nanak has found God !'

[98]*Sirī Rāgu* 27, *AG* pp. 23-24.

[99]In the *AG* version the refrain occurs in the usual place, viz. after the first stanza.

[100]*kalām*. The *AG* reading is *śabad*. In this version *kalām* has presumably been substituted because it would seem to accord better with Muslim understanding.

[101]*bhisat* (*bahīśt*) and *dojak* (*dozakh*).

[102]*AG* : To speak, to hear...'

[103]*AG* : 'The Master's grace and the love of His heart [is bestowed upon those who] have meditated upon the One.' In the *AG* version this is the third stanza.

[104]*AG* stanza 2.

[105]Ramazan.

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Says Nanak : You must tread the path [of death] : where-
fore do you lay up property and wealth ? 4.

Humbling himself the Khan fell at his feet. All who were present, both Hindu and Muslim, besought the Khan, [saying], "God speaks through Nanak. Keep Nanak [here to be our spiritual guide]."

The Khan appealed to Baba [Nanak. "This] kingdom, [this] country, the royal authority [over them]—all are yours !" [he declared].

"Khanji," replied Baba [Nanak], "God will bless you, [but] I shall not stay now. Kingdom, property, and household
24b goods are all yours. I have renounced everything."

[106]The Khan then requested [him], "Babaji, stay in my town for one month [more] so that from the benediction [of your presence] this town of mine may receive blessing."

"The Guru[107] has always been good to your town," replied Baba [Nanak], "but for your sake I shall remain for a week." Baba [Nanak] then rested.

[BABA NANAK'S DEPARTURE FROM SULTANPUR]

One day Baba [Nanak] was proceeding along the road. On the way he met the qazi, and the qazi asked, "Are you going or staying ?" Baba [Nanak] replied, "I am going."

The qazi, [understanding him to mean that together with the Khan he was about to renounce the world], proceeded to his house and began to dispose of his [own] possessions [so that he might accompany them in their renunciation. When he failed to report for duty] the Khan sent an attendant[108] to the qazi's house, to enquire why had he not come that day. The
25a attendant went and announced, "The Nawab summons you." The qazi came and the Nawab asked him, "Why were you not present in court today ?"

"I was coming," replied the qazi, "but on the way I met Nanak. I asked him, 'Are you going or staying ?' and he answered, 'I am going.' [I understood that you must also be going and that accordingly I should go too.] For that reason I returned to my house to dispose of my possessions."

[106]The remainder of the sakhi is not in the *Purātan* janam-sakhis. In its place the *Purātan* version describes how Baba Nanak joined a group of faqirs, to whom he recited the shabad *Tilang* 3 (*AG*, pp. 721-22). The Khan and his people came to pay their respects, and when the Khan returned home he discovered that his treasury has been miraculously filled. Baba Nanak a n left Sultanpur. *Pur JS*, pp. 19-20.

[107]God.

[108]*chobdār* : one who bears a *chob* (stave or mace) ; herald.

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"I am going nowhere !" said the Khan.

"Then summon Nanak and ask him why he has told a lie of this kind," said the qazi.

The Khan spoke to Nanak [when he arrived] and asked him, "What did you say to the qazi ?" [In reply] Baba [Nanak] sang a shabad in *Sirī Rāg*.[109]

Sirī Rāg

We have made ourselves a home [in this world, and in it] we dwell, [but] always there is the dread of having to move on.

This home could be regarded as permanent only if the world were to remain for ever. 1.

What kind of dwelling-place is this world ?

25b Follow what is true [and so] earn the expenses [for your journey]; cleave always to the divine Name. *Refroin*

The yogi squats in his yogic postures, the mullah reclines in his abode ;

The pandit recites from the [sacred] books and the siddh sits in a temple [of Siva]. 2.

The sultans and the khans, the mighty and the rich-all have marched on.

For but a brief hour [they remain, after which all must arise and move on ; understand in [your] heart that [you too] must go.[110] 3.

Gods, siddhs, the attendants of Siva,[111] gandharvas,[112] ascetics sworn to silence, sheikhs, pirs, and men of authority—

Turn by turn they have departed; [none remains], the whole world[113] must go.[114] 4.

[The Truth] is made manifest in all [created things],[115] but few there be who perceive it.

[109]*Sirī Rāgu Aṣṭ* 17, *AG* p. 64. The preceding incident is evidently a garbled version of an attempt to provide a suitable setting for the shabad. The *Purātan* janam-sakhis set it in a sakhi concerning Makhdum Bahauddin and his magic prayer-mat. *Pur JS*, p. 84.

[110]*AG* stanza 4.

[111]*gaṇa* (*—devata*).

[112]Celestial musicians who prepare the *soma* and entertain the gods during feasts. They are noted for their partiality towards women and for the irre[illegible] which they exercise upon them.

[113]*AG* : 'the remainder also.'

[114]*AG* stanza 3.

[115]*AG* : 'in the divine Word.'

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[This Truth] Nanak humbly proclaims, that [God dwells] in the water, the earth, and all that lies between heaven and earth. 5.

Allah, the Ineffable, the Infinite, the Almighty, the Creator, the Bountiful !

The entire creation[116] comes and goes; [alone there remains] the dwelling-place of the Merciful One. 6.

[Only that] dwelling-place can be called [permanent which belongs to him] who bears not upon His countenance the inscription [of Death].

Heaven and earth must pass away, [but] the dwelling-place of the One [will remain for ever]. 7.

26a The day and the sun must go, the night and the moon must go, the multitude of stars must be destroyed.

He, the One, is the Lord ! This is the Truth[117] which Nanak proclaims.

The entire assembly, all who were sitting there, were so astounded that they were unable to draw breath. Baba Nanak then sang a second *aṣṭapadī*, [this one] in *Tilaṅg* raga.[118]

Rāg Tilaṅg

Strive to make firm your faith in the Qur'an; let it be laid upon the foundation of mercy.

If your words express the Truth which is in your heart your faith will never be shaken. 1.

Utter the Name which is holy, O qazi !

Cast from off your heart the garb of unbelief; clothe your body in the garment of Truth. *Refrain*

Crush your *man* and make it paper; [take as your] pen fulfilment of the Shari'at, and in the inkwells of your eyes [pour] the ink of humility.

Banish avarice, pride, and evil, for so you shall obtain from God the Kingdom of Truth. 2.

26b Chieftains, nobles, kings, and lords—without the Name of God all leave [this world] as captives.

The Angel of Death constantly pursues and ensnares you as a hunter springs his trap. 3.

Dwell in perfect tranquillity that you may lay hold of Truth,

[116] *khalak* (*khalq*). The *AG* reading is *dunī*, 'world'.
[117] *rāsi* (*rāst*) *bagoi*. The *AG* reading is *sachu bugoi*.
[118] This shabad is not in the *AG*.

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for in the obtaining of Truth disbelief is destroyed.
Faithfully observe the five [daily] prayers with the three [appointed] fasts, and by His mercy the Merciful One will spare you from punishment. 4.

The mullahs read the Qur'an (*kateb*) and the pandits the Veda; and in reading their scriptures all acquire virtue.
To the people they impart much instruction in divine knowledge, but how can one be freed from doubt without the divine Word of the Guru ? 5.

Utter what is just and true, cling ever to the divine Word; he who at all times remembers the divine Name shall be saved.
In reading the Veda and the Qur'an one incurs endless incarnations; Muslims and Hindus, [both] read [their scriptures only] to deceive [others]. 6.

27a Let the sinner who has turned away from God desist from speaking the evil which is in his heart; do not give your [wayward] heart free rein.
To him who loves others, speaking ill of none, God] will show mercy and acceptance. 7.

True is the *Kalima*, there is but one Maulana, and only one divine Name in all places and through all ages !
Nanak says, hearken O qazi; abandon falsehood for falsehood is unlawful. 8.

After seven days had elapsed Baba [Nanak] set about making his departure. The Khan petitioned him [once more, saying], "Nanakji, accept service with me. [This] kingdom, [its] possessions, the country [which it covers, its] wealth, horses, elephants, gardens, authority, riches, jewels, and treasure—all are yours." Baba [Nanak in reply] sang a shabad in *Rāmkalī* raga.[119]

Rāg Rāmkalī

The Word of the Guru is the arrow in [my] quiver, and meditation [on it my] bow.
The tranquil mind is my sword, and divine knowledge the horses whereon I ride. 1.

Baba, we are [soldiers] enrolled in God's service.
27b In the heart and in the mind nothing dwells [but Him alone]; misery, craving, and doubt, [all] have

Refrain

[119]This shabad is not in the *AG*.

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The mind is [my] saddle, contentment the rein, and fear [of God] the crop with which I urge on [my horse].
The Guru is the vazir who grants access [to the King for those upon whose] foreheads the divine Name is inscribed. 2.

I have offered myself for the love of the Beloved and speedily my recompense has been recorded.
Devotion is [my] payment, the divine Nam [my] treasure; a special estate has been conferred [upon me]. 3.
For him who deposits much and spends nothing there can be no poverty.

Unless, says Nanak, it is inscribed in one's fate one cannot perform this meritorious service. 4.

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows.

8a

ILLUSTRATION 5

BABA NANAK'S TRAVELS IN THE UNINHABITED WILDERNESS[120]

28b [After leaving Sultanpur] Baba Nanak travelled only through uninhabited wildernesses. He followed no road and he entered no dwelling. If ever Mardana became hungry Baba [Nanak] would ask, "Are you hungry, Mardana ?" And Mardana would reply, "All things are known to thee[121]."

[One day] Baba [Nanak] said, "Mardana."

"My Lord ?" replied Mardana.

"Mardana, proceed straight on and enter the village [which lies ahead]. Uppal Khatris[122] live there. Enter their house and stand silent. All will come, Mardana, both Hindus and Muslims, and they will prostrate themselves [before you]. They will spread a bed [for you] and offer all kinds of delicacies.[123] Some will offer money and others will offer [various] tempting things.[124] No one will ask from where you have come

[120]The janam-sakhi statement that Baba Nanak proceeded to an uninhabited wilderness testifies to a belief in his divinity. Deserts were believed to be the abode of evil spirits (*bhāt*) and only one who was equipped to deal with a malevolent supernatural would willingly venture there. The same belief is implied in the anecdotes describing encounters with a *rākaṣ* (folio 40a) and with Kaliyug (folio 44a). For popular belief in the perils of deserts see W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, vol. ii (Delhi, 1968), p. 278.

[121]*parbīn* : one who is omniscient.

[122]Uppal is a Khatri *got*.

[123]*chhatrī amrit*, 'the thirty-six varieties of *amrit*'. See note 530.

[124]*parkāle*, lit. 'sparks'. The meaning is not clear. 'Sparks' has here been interpreted as 'fire' and this in turn has been interpreted as a reference to worldly temptations.

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[125]or whose servant you are. Those who show favour towards you will say, 'I have brought all that I possess and laid it before [you].' And they will say, 'We have been blessed by this visit'."

One day Baba [Nanak] decided to send Mardana to a [certain] town. When he was sent there he received much adoration and when he departed all the residents came and prostrated themselves [before him]. When he [finally] departed he took with him money and a bundle of clothing. [Knowing what had happened] Baba [Nanak] rolled on the ground [convulsed] with laughter. Mardana brought the clothing and money to Baba [Nanak who when he] observed him coming with the bundle, asked, "What have you brought, Mardana ?"

"True King," replied Mardana, "in reverence for your name the whole town rose up in service. My Lord, I said [to them], 'I shall take these things and this clothing to Baba [Nanak]'."

"You did well to bring [them], Mardana," said the Guru, "but these are of no use to me."

"Then what shall I do with them, my Lord ?" asked Mardana.

"Throw them away !" replied Baba [Nanak].

[And so] Mardana threw away all the articles and all the clothing, and they left that place.

Travelling on they entered a vast wilderness where no one was to be found. Mardana was famished. "All glory to your devotion," he said, "but I am a Dum, [not a superhuman saint like you. My custom, as a Dum] was to obtain food by begging a portion of whatever an area produced.[126] There [in such places] I could be hired to sing. [Here, however,] we have entered a vast wilderness. May God lead us out of it ! If a lion roars,

30a we shall be slain."

"Nothing will come near you, Mardana," said Baba [Nanak]. "Do not despair."

"Why should I not despair ?" wailed Mardana, "We shall be slain in this desert."

"We are not in a desert, Mardana," said Baba [Nanak]. "We are in an inhabited place [because we are in a place] where the divine Name is remembered."

And there Baba [Nanak] sang a shabad [concerning the manner in which] hatha-yoga adepts,[127] the three hundred million gods, yogis, celibates, Sufi masters, and prophets

[125]One folio is missing from the *B40* manuscript at this point. See Introduction, p. 28-31. The translation interpolated here to fill the gap follows the *Purātan* text of the missing portion (*Pur JS*, pp. 20, 46).

[126]Dums commonly received payment in kind for their services as musicians and genealogists.

[127]*siddh sādhak* : yogis who, by the application of hatha-yoga techniques, attain supreme beatitude (*siddhi*). Cf. folio 183a. Although the two parts of the compound could be separated (*siddh* and *sādhak*) and the above definition limited to the second of them, subsequent usage in the *B40* janam-sakhi in should be understood to designate a single category. Cf. folios 100a, 120b, 181b, 207a. This is logical in that a Siddh is a Siddh by virtue of being a Sadhak. The two terms come very close to being synonymous.

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roamed in quest of this divine Name. Baba [Nanak] sang a shabad in *Āsā* raga.[128]

For a vision of Thee the gods endured suffering and hunger, and made pilgrimages to the holy places.
Yogis and celibate ascetics [in quest of Thee] have donned the ochre robe and followed their various disciplines. 1.

For Thy sake, O my Lord, they are steeped in Thy Love; [for Thy sake] they have become dervishes.[129]
Numberless are Thy names, infinite Thy forms, beyond telling the multitude of Thy qualities! *Refrain*

30b [In quest of Thee men] have abandoned hearth and home, [their] palaces, elephants, and horses.
Pirs and prophets, men of piety[130] and men of truth, have renounced the world and been accepted [by Thee]. 2.

[Others] have renounced the [manifold] pleasures [of the world]—its delicacies, its comforts, its joys; putting aside [their] clothes they wear [only garments made from] skins.
Tormented and in pain [they cry] at Thy door; steeped in [love of Thy] Name they have become homeless mendicants.[131] 3.

[In quest of Thee some wear] skins and hides, and [carry] begging-bowls and staffs; [others] retain the sacred tuft and thread, and don the *dhoti*.
Thou art the Lord and I am but Thy [humble] mimic; [as such] Nanak prays, how can [one's] caste [be of any use or value]?

Then Baba [Nanak] said, "Mardana, without you the *bāṇī*[132] sounds unmelodious. Apply your mind to the shabad when you play the rabab."

"My body is overcome with hunger," protested Mardana. "I cannot play the rabab."

"Then go back, Mardana, and find a village," said Baba [Nanak].

31a "I can no longer go back, not even to a village. My body is overcome with hunger. I am dying!"

[128] *Āsā* 33, *AG* p. 358. The terminology used in this shabad suggests that it must have been intended primarily for a Muslim audience.

[129] The *AG* version lacks 'they have become dervishes'.

[130] *sālik*, lit. 'traveller', Muslims who observe the *shariat* punctiliously but who do not renounce family ties.

[131] *darveś*, dervishes.

[132] *bāṇī*: utterance or sound. The word is an exalted one, difficult to translate without awkwardness or bathos. Sikhs characteristically refer to the contents of the Adi Granth as *gur-bāṇī*, 'the Guru's utterance'.

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"I shall not let you die," Baba [Nanak] assured him. "Pull yourself together."

"How can I do that ?" protested Mardana. "I am dying. All you have to do is leave me."

"Eat the fruit of this tree," commanded Baba [Nanak]. "Take your fill. Eat as much as you can—but do not take with you any of what remains. Do you understand ?"

"Very well," replied Mardana and began to eat.

[When he did so he discovered that] the fruit was remarkably sweet, [as sweet as] nectar. The juice of the fruit seemed so sweet that he said [to himself], "I should eat it all because I shall receive no more." And so he took some [with him], thinking that he would get no more.

As they proceeded together on their way Mardana again
31b felt hungry and taking out [the fruit] he began to eat it As soon as he put it in his mouth, [however], he collapsed. Baba [Nanak] observed that Mardana had fallen [to the ground] behind him. "What is wrong, Mardana ?" he asked.

"Master, you told me to eat that fruit and to take none with me, but it was so sweet that I ate some and also brought some [with me]. When I felt hungry I took it out and began to eat it—and then this dreadful condition overtook me."

"You did wrong, Mardana. This was a poisonous fruit which turned sweet because of the word which was spoken."[133]

"All glory to your devotion and to the merit which you have earned," answered Mardana. "We Dums [must] beg what we need to eat and drink, [whereas] you are an ascetic, an exalted soul who neither eats, drinks, nor enters any dwelling. Why should I remain with you ? Send me away."

32a "Mardana, I am very pleased with you. Why do you ask to be dismissed ?"

"All glory to your pleasure, [but] please send me away so that I may return to my home."

"How will you survive ?" asked Baba [Nanak].

"I shall survive if my hunger is satisfied," replied Mardana. "Let your food be my food. Then I shall stay with you. If you promise that I shall never be parted from you in future, then I shall remain with you."

"Mardana," said the Guru, "to you has been imparted the joy [of salvation], both in this world and the next."

Mardana arose and prostrated himself. So much

[133] The *Purātan* manuscripts add : *tab bābai mathai upari pairu rakhiā tab changā bhallā hoā uṭhi baiṭhā.* 'Baba [Nanak] then placed his foot on [Mardana's] forehead. He recovered and sat up.' *Pur JS*, p. 47. Also *AS*, p. 22.

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bestowed upon him ! He bowed down [before his Master] and as he bowed there came upon him an understanding of the deepest mysteries. [And so] Mardana journeyed on with Baba [Nanak].

32b Twelve years[134] after leaving[135] Sultanpur [Baba Nanak] returned to the Punjab. The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows : [a discourse] with [his] mother and father.

ILLUSTRATION 6

[BABA NANAK RETURNS TO TALVANDI][136]

33a After twelve years [Baba Nanak] returned to the Panjab and stopped in a jungle two *kos*[137] from Talvandi. After they had rested for half an hour[138] Mardana made a request : "Master, if you permit may I obtain news from [my] home, to see if my relatives are alive or if they are dead ?"

Baba [Nanak] replied with a smile, "Mardana, if your relatives have died [do not be upset, for] how can [any] of us live [for ever] in this world ? But because you wish to go then go and meet them. Do not, however, mention my name."

Mardana prostrated himself and proceeded on to Talvandi. [Reaching the village] he entered his house [and when the news of his arrival spread] many people gathered [outside]. "It is Mardana the Dum," they all exclaimed, "the devoted follower of Baba Nanak ! The fame[139] of Nanak has spread throughout the world !" All who came prostrated themselves [before him].

33b When Mardana had inspected his [own] house he went to Kalu's house and entering it sat in the courtyard. Baba [Nanak's] mother rose and embraced him. She began to weep and through her tears she said, "Tell me, Mardana—where is Nanak ?" The courtyard filled with people and everyone began to ask questions. "Brother[s]," said Mardana, "we were together in Sultanpur, but since then there has been no news [of him]."

[134] A conventional period for the *tīrath-yātrā*, or tour of the major places of Hindu pilgrimage.

[135] *udās hoā*. The term also implies withdrawal in the sense of renunciation of worldly ties.

[136] A detailed analysis of this sakhi is given in *EST*.

[137] *kos, koh* (*krośa*) : a linear measure varying from one to two parts of India. In the Punjab it has generally been computed as the equivalent of one and a half miles.

[138] *gharī* : a period of twenty-four minutes.

[139] *sālā*, 'shadow'.

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After sitting for half an hour Mardana arose and departed. [Observing him go] Baba [Nanak's] mother said, "There is some reason for Mardana's speedy departure from the court-yard." She at once stood up and taking some clothing and some sweets she went to find Mardana. "Mardana," she said, "take me to Nanak."

34a Mardana remained silent, [but] they proceeded on and travelled two *kos*. Ahead [of them] Baba [Nanak] arose and coming to his mother he fell at her feet. His mother began to weep, kissing his head and crying, "I am wholly thine, my son, wholly devoted to thee and to the sight of thee. In beholding thee I am blessed. Show me thy face."

Moved by his mother's love Baba [Nanak also] began to weep, and as he wept he said, "Mardana, play the rabab." Mardana played the rabab and Baba [Nanak] sang a shabad in *Vadahamsa* raga.[140]

Rāg Vadahamsa

[As] the addict who cannot obtain his drug dies, and likewise a fish without water, [so should I die without Thee, O Lord].

To the one steeped in his Master's [love] all things are joyous. 1.

To the Master's Name I offer myself; shattering [all pride] I offer myself a sacrifice [to Him]. *Refrain*

34b The Master is a beautiful tree, laden with [delectable] fruit; [sweet as] nectar is His Name.

They who drank were supremely satisfied; to Thee I offer myself a sacrifice. 2.

I see Thee not, yet Thou dwellest in all.
How can my thirst be slaked when the pool [of nectar] lies within the veil [of error and falsehood] ? 3.

Nanak is Thy trader, O Lord, and Thou the capital [wherewith he trades].

When I sing [Thy] praises and offer prayer [to Thee all] delusion flees from my understanding. 4.

His mother laid the sweets and clothing before him, and said, "Eat, my son."

"I am [already] filled," replied Baba [Nanak].

[140]*Vadahamsu* 1, *AG* p. 557.

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"How can you have eaten your fill [in this wasteland, my] son ?" asked his mother.

"Mardana, play [the measure] *Sirī Rāg* on the rabab," said Baba [Nanak]. Mardana played *Sirī Rāg* and Baba [Nanak] sang a shabad.[141]

Sirī Rāg

To believe [in the divine Name] is to taste all the sweet flavours;[142] to hear it all the salty.

35a To utter [the divine Name] is to taste all tart flavours; to sing it all the spicy.

In single-minded love [of the Name] lie the thirty-six delectable flavours, [but only he can love like this] upon whom falls the gracious glance [of the Lord]. 1.

Mother,[143] to eat now[144] would be to turn joy into suffering.
He who eats brings agony to his body and liberates evil within his *man*. *Refrain*

[After he had concluded this first stanza his] mother said, "Remove that faqir's robe and put on [these] new clothes." Baba [Nanak] then sang the second stanza.

Let the crimson which you wear be a steeping of your *man* [in God], and let your white be the giving of charity.
Let your blue be the removal of the stain [of falsehood] and meditation the garment which you put on.
I have bound [around myself] the sash of [spiritual] contentment. Thy Name, [O Lord, is all my] wealth and [all my] joy. 2.

Mother, to wear other [garments] would be to turn joy into suffering.
He who arrays himself [in any other] brings agony to his body and liberates evil within his *man*. *Refrain*

[Meanwhile] Kalu had received news [of Nanak's arrival] and mounting a horse he had come [to find him]. Baba Nanak fell at his feet, greeting him. Then Kalu began to weep,
35b saying, "Mount this mare, Nanak, and come home."

"I have no need of a horse, father," replied Baba [Nanak].

[141] *Sirī Rāgu* 7, *AG* pp. 16-17.

[142] *ras*, 'flavour'. Six 'flavours' are ordinarily enumerated : s bitter, acrid, astringent.

[143] *AG* : *bābā*. The narrator retains *mātā* (mother) in the second stanza, but uses *bābā* in the third and fourth stanzas.

[144] *AG* : 'other [foods]'.

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[All I need is] knowledge of the path to Thee, [Not] horses, saddles, and cruppers of gold.
[Nor need I] quiver, arrow, bow, spear, [or] sword-belt [but only] the pursuit of virtue.
[What need of] drum and banner to proclaim [my] dignity? Thy grace is [the only and sufficient emblem of] my status. 3.

Baba, to mount any other steed is to turn joy into suffering.
He who mounts any other brings agony to his body and liberates evil within his *man*. *Refrain*

"Pay us [just] one visit, son," pleaded Kalu. We have built a new house. [Come and] see [it], for you have returned after a [long] absence. And then there is your family. Visit them and stay for a day or two. In this way we shall have the pleasure of your company. Then you can go."

36a Baba [Nanak replied by] singing the fourth stanza.

The joy of Thy Name is [my] home and [my] temple; Thy grace [my only] family.
Thy divine Order is what pleases Thee; all other utterance, though abundant, [is futile],
Nanak, the True King [is omniscient; He] asks of no one nor seeks the counsel [of any]. 4.

Baba, any other repose turns joy into suffering.
He who sleeps thus brings agony to his body and liberates evil with his *man*. *Refrain*

"Father and Mother," said Baba [Nanak], "I have returned and [later] I shall come back to you [again]. Now, however, you must obey the command [of God]. My spirit is still withdrawn from worldly concerns."

"How can I be content?" protested his mother. "You have returned after twelve years of [this life of] detachment and you will not even visit [your] home. How can my heart rest content?"

"Mother," replied Baba [Nanak], "if I say the word you will find contentment."

36b His mother then remained silent and Baba [Nanak] went on his way. The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows.

ILLUSTRATION 7

37a A DISCOURSE WITH ABDUL RAHMAN

[Once Baba Nanak] held discourse with Shah Abdul

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Rahman,[145] [a pir who] was exceedingly proud and self-satisfied.

"I have been greatly honoured by [this] meeting with one who is beloved of God," said Shah Abdual Rahman. "A holy man has come and from him I have derived [spiritual] warmth. I have been fortunate !"

Shah Abdul Rahman [then] arose and returned to his house where he met his disciple Mian Mitha.[146] "You are looking radiant today, Shahji," said [Mian Mitha].

"Today I met a jewel of God," replied the Shah, "and having met him I became radiant !"[147] His name is Nanak. You go and meet him too. It will be to your advantage."

37b Mian Mitha went and as he entered Baba [Nanak's] house [he heard] Mardana singing a shabad in [the measure] *Sirī Rāg*. Mardana was singing this stanza[148];

If I were to be a bird and fly to a hundred heavens;
Invisible and subsisting without food or drink;
Yet would Thy value be beyond [my] computing, the greatness of Thy Name beyond all utterance.

Mian Mitha withdrew, turned about, and returned to his pir. When the pir saw him [coming] he observed that [his disciple] was thoroughly disconsolate. Mian Mitha had gone to obtain a blessing and [evidently felt that] he had been deceived.[149]

"Did you meet [him], Mian ?" asked the pir.

"Respected pir," he replied, "what could I get from such a meeting ! There it was all blasphemy. And you had praised him highly !"

[145]The Abdul Rahman of the janam-sakhis may perhaps be identified with an important Apabhramsa writer of the same name who lived in the Punjab at an uncertain date prior to the fifteenth century. Fauja Singh (ed.), *Panjāb dā itihās*, vol. iii (Patiala, 1968), pp. 345, 349.

[146]Mian Mitthu.—This saint is extensively worshipped in the western portion of the Gurdaspur District. His shrine is in the village of Mia Mitthu, near Fattehgarh. He was a Nawab at the Court of one of the Muhammadan Emperors..later following the death of a favourite horse...became a *faqir* and lived as such for the rest of his life.

—Note by H. Martyn Clark in *PNQ*, vol. II, no. 22 (July, 1885), pp. 163-64.

The *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District 1891-92* agrees with regard to Mia Mittha's local reputation, but places his shrine in Kathiala (loc. cit., p. 63). The *Purātan* anecdote concerning Mian Mitha sets him in a location which was reached "after passing through Pasrur" (*Pur JS*, p. 66). 'Mian' (written *mīā* in the janam-sakhis) is a title of respect meaning 'master', 'chief', &c.

[147]There is a pun here on the word *lāl* which means both 'radiant' 'jewel'.

[148]*Sirī Rāgu* 2, stanza 3, *AG* pp. 14-15.

[149]This sentence and its predecessor can be construed in several ways.

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"What blasphemy was he uttering ?" asked the pir.

"[The person who was] there was singing this song," Mian replied.

38a If I were to be a bird and fly to a hundred heavens;
Invisible and subsisting without food or drink;
Yet would Thy value beyond [my] computing, the greatness of Thy Name beyond all ut terance.

"Pirji, according to our enumeration there are fourteen regions in all. There are seven below and seven above. What blasphemy this is—this reference to a hundred heavens ! Where are there a hundred heavens ?"

"[My] son," said the pir, "why have you been so remiss ? You and I know of [only] fourteen regions, [my] son, but he knows of a hundred and so he says :

Yet would Thy value be beyond [my] computing, the greatness of Thy Name beyond all utterance.
Come with me. We shall go and have your sin forgiven."

Shah Abdul Rahman took Mian Mitha with him to Baba [Nanak]. When he arrived he fell at his feet and besought him: "Babaji, beloved of God, forgive his sin."

38b "But Shahji, I have never even seen him !" replied Baba [Nanak].

"Babaji, he has been smitten as a result of his bad intentions," explained the Shah. "For the sake of God forgive his offence. He made a mistake, [but] God is forgiving."

"Evil intentions bring their own reward," said Baba [Nanak], "and one reaps what one sows."

"Babaji," answered the Shah, "[if he sins again] then punish him. In the eyes of God he is indeed a sinner, [but please] forgive him. If one comes to you in submission his submission should be accepted. Do not regard his offence but rather your own grace."

He fell at Baba [Nanak's] feet and Baba [Nanak], patting him [on the head], forgave him. To Mardana he said, "sing a shabad," and Mardana sang the *Sirī Rāg* [shabad which Mian Mitha had previously heard].[150]

39a If my age were to extend for millions of years and I were to subsist on air alone;
If I were to dwell [deep] within a cave, observing neither moon nor sun, and if I knew no sleep nor even dreams;
Yet would Thy value be beyond [my] comput[illegible] the

[150] *Sirī Rāgu* 2, *AG* pp. 14-15. The same shabad is repeated in the sakhi entitled "An Interview with God", ff. 124a-125a.

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greatness of Thy Name beyond all utterance ! 1.

The True, the Formless One, dwells within his own [creation].
We hear of Him, we speak of Him, [but of His greatness we can have no conception, save that] He should graciously bestow the blessing [of understanding upon us]. *Refrain*

If I were to be slain, cut into many pieces, and ground in a mill;
If I were to be consumed by fire and my remains mingled with ashes;
Yet would Thy value be beyond [my] computing, the greatness of Thy Name beyond all utterance ! 2.

If I were to be a bird and fly to a hundred heavens ;
Invisible and subsisting without food or drink ;
Yet would Thy value be beyond [my] computing, the greatness of Thy Name beyond all utterance ! 3.

If Nanak were to write, read, and understand a burden of[151] a hundred thousand maunds of paper ;
If he possessed an inexhaustible [ocean] of ink and used the [everlasting] winds as a pen ;
Yet would Thy value be beyond [my] computing, the greatness of Thy Name beyond all utterance ! 4.

39b [152]Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [describing and encounter] with a monster.

ILLUSTRATION 8

[THE MONSTER'S CAULDRON][153]

40a [Once the two travellers] lost their way in a great wilderness. Proceeding on they happened upon the grove of a monster (*rākas*)[154] where they observed a cauldron of oil

[151]*AG* : 'the meaning of'.

[152]The last line of folio 39b is missing. The sentence which introduces the next sakhi is given at the top of 39a, folio 39 having been reversed at the time of binding the manuscript.

[153]The various versions of this anecdote are discussed in *EST.*

[154]*rākas* (*rākṣasa*) : demon, ogre, cannibal. Danielou describes them as follows :

The *rākṣasas* are of three sorts : some are genii, simila nd *daityas* ; others are titans, powerful enemies of the gods ; others are fearful demons, and ogres. The *rākṣasas* devour human beings, animate dead bodies, disturb sacrifices, harass pious men, and afflict mankind in many ways. They are children of the darkness who wander at night. Their rule is unchallenged until midnight. They haunt forests, mountains, and deserts, which resound with their fearful roars.

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being heated. Many prisoners were in [the monster's] clutches. [As they watched they saw him] seize one and thrust him in [the cauldron].

When [the oil] became very hot the monster [took hold of] Baba [Nanak] and carried him straight to the cauldron. Baba [Nanak], however, put his finger in [the oil] and at once it became cool. [Observing what had happened] the monster fell at his feet. "I am a sinner," he declared. "Forgive my sin."

"Play the rabab," Baba [Nanak] commanded Mardana. He then sang a shabad in *Mārū* raga.[155]

Rāg Mārū

The egg of error has shattered ! The Guru[156] has illumined my heart ![157]

The shackles have been struck from my feet ! The Guru has set me free ! 1.

Baba, now have the wanderings of my *man* ceased.[158]

40b The seething cauldron has lost its heat, for the Guru has applied to it the cooling Name.[159] *Refrain*

I have cast off the burden of my karma, I am freed from [the chains of] my past !

The Guru in His mercy [has carried me] across the Ocean[160] and landed [me] on the [further] shore.[161] 2.

At the time when I attached myself to the company of sadhus[162] the sentinels [of Death] left me and fled away.

The *rākṣasas* can take any form they like : human, animal, monstrous ; but they always look fearful, large, and strong, with flaming eyes, sharp, prominent teeth, and a tongue of unusual length.....

The ten-headed Ravana, who ruled over Lanka and was the enemy of Rama, is the most celebrated king of the *rākṣasas*.

—Alain Danielou, *Hindu Polytheism* (London, 1964), pp. 309-10.

For an account of the *rākas* in North Indian folk-lore see W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, vol. i (Delhi, 1968), pp. 246-53.

[155]The shabad is by Guru Arjan, not by Guru Nanak (*Mārū* 14, *AG* pp. 1002-3). Its first stanza was chosen by Macauliffe for the title-page of his *The Sikh Religion*.

[156]The *AG* version omits the reference to 'the Guru'.

[157]The *AG* version has *manahi* ('within the *man*'), not *ride*.

[158]The *AG* version has only: 'My wanderings have ceased.' This should probably be construed as: 'My transmigratory coming and going has ceased.'

[159]The passions which inflamed my *man* have been extinguished by the divi

[160]The dread Ocean of Existence, a conventional image for the soul's [illegible] towards salvation with all its attendant dangers and disasters.

[161]*AG* stanza 3.

[162]In the sense 'those who have found fulfilment (*sādh*)'.

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I have been set free by the One who laid me under constraint; what then can a [mere] warder[163] do ![164] 3.

Truth is [now my] merchandise,[165] Truth [my] seat, and Truth the goal [before me].
Truth is the capital, and Truth the wares which Nanak has stored within his abode. 4.

[And so] Baba [Nanak] made him his own. The prisoners were all set free and the monster began to repeat[166] [the chant of] "Guru, Guru." Baba [Nanak] then departed and proceeding on came to another place. The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [describing a discourse] held with Bhola the Robber.[167]

41a

ILLUSTRATION 9

[BHOLA THE ROBBER][168]

41b There was once an infamous robber named Bhola who every day sat at an elevated spot, wearing white clothes and terrorising the road [below]. He was a fearless fellow who would tackle eight or ten men at a time, and he had committed many crimes. [When he observed Baba Nanak approaching] he descended from [his look-out] and hovering near him he [threateningly] announced, "Remove your clothes or I shall kill you."

"Well !" exclaimed Baba [Nanak]. "So I have fallen into your clutches ! Do one thing for me—I shall not run away. Return home and when you arrive there put a question to your family—to your mother, father, wife and sons. You do evil and commit murder, and [at the same time] you provide for them. [Now ask them this question.] When you are in trouble will there be anyone from your entire family who will stand by you in your misfortune ?"

42a "You are deceiving me," said Bhola. "You will run away."

[163] *darvānā*, 'door-keeper'. *AG kotvār* (*kotvāl*), 'chief police-officer'.

[164] *AG* stanza 2.

[165] *vakharu*. This is obviously an error by the copyist. It is inappropriate in this line and is repeated (appropriately) in the following line. The *AG* version has *thānu*, 'dwelling-place'.

[166] *japaṇā*: to repeat with reverence a divine name or *mantra*.

[167] Normally the title of a sakhi is given at the very end of the preceding sakhi. In this instance the title precedes the two conventional sent i the sakhi concludes. ('The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows.)

[168] This sakhi is discussed in *EST*.

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"Take my word for it," promised Baba [Nanak]. "I shall not go."

Bhola the Robber returned home and when he arrived there he gathered his family together—mother, father, sons, wife, the entire family. "Listen," he said, "I who have committed a thousand murders and crimes without number provide your food. Tell me, when I am in trouble will any [of you] share my anguish ? Will any [of you] break the net of Yam ?[169] Can any [of you] release me from Yam's angel ? Will any [of you] share my suffering—or not ?"

"Your deeds will be your companions," they all replied, "for as you act so you appear [for judgement] in the True Court.[170] The relationship between you and us concerns
42b only this life. [It does not continue after death. Whether a man does good, or whether he does evil while [at the same time] caring for his family, in the True Court he must answer alone. No one can be taken as a substitute for another."

At this Bhola was most distressed and beat upon the ground with both hands. "Have I foolishly wasted all these years with you ?" he cried. "If at the end you are going to desert [me] then why have I spent my life committing a thousand crimes and murders, while providing for you ?"

He went off wailing, and coming to Baba [Nanak] fell at his feet. Then he stood up with palms joined.[171] "I have been [grossly] negligent,"[172] [he humbly confessed. Forgive my sin. My whole life has been spent in this manner. Accept me. Amend my life[173] that I may be restored."

"Prostrate yourself," commanded Baba [Nanak, and then he] released [Bhola] from the penalty [of his misdeeds. Having forgiven him] Baba [Nanak] sang a shabad in *Sūhī* raga.[174]

[169]The God of Death. See Sukumari Bhattacharji, *The Indian Theogony* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 48 ff.

[170]Before God.

[171]Placing the palms together as in prayer, the customary gesture for greeting or supplication. The usual translation, "folded hands" is misleading.

[172]*bhulā*. The word is a pun on the speaker's name, Bhola.

[173]Lit. birth, i. e. the *karma* which a person brings with him at birth.

[174]*Sūhī* 3, *AG*, p. 729. This popular shabad has given rise to at least three different stories concerning robbers who were converted by Baba Nanak. I popular (with variants) see *AS*, pp. 31-33; *Pur JS*, pp. 21-22 ; *GR*, [illegible] *Mih JS* I. 235-38. A second is given in *Bala JS*, pp. 290-94, *B40* provides the third.

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43a *Rāg Sūhī*

Bronze shines brightly, but rub it and it sheds an inky black.
Though I clean it a hundred times polishing will never remove its stain. 1.

O heedless one ! They are my real friends who accompany me [now] and who will accompany me [into the hereafter].
Who, at that door[175] where accounts are demanded, will stand and give an account [of good deeds done.]

Refrain

The heron [like many a pious devotee] wears garments of white and dwells in [the holy waters at] places of pilgrimage.[176]
But as it pecks and fossicks[177] it consumes and destroys life. How then can it be regarded as pure ?[178] 2.

Houses, temples, and palaces may be colourful without,
But let them collapse and they are useless. Devoid of the divine Name[179] they are empty [shells].[180] 3.

My body is like a simmal tree[181] which men, when they observe it, mistake [for something useful].
But as its fruit is devoid of value, so is my body devoid of virtue. 4.

[I am like] a blind man bearing a burden [of error] and climbing a precipitous road.
With my eyes I [strive to] peer [ahead], my heart pines in grief.[182] How can I ascend and pass over [the mountains which lie in my path] ? 5.

Of what uge is any service, virtue, or wisdom other [than the divine Name] ?
Worship[183] the Name, O Nanak, for [only] thus shall
43b your bonds[184] be broken. 6.

[175]The *AG* version omits the word *dar*, 'at that door'.
[176]*tīrath*, a place of pilgrimage on the banks of a sacred river or pool.
[177]*chuṇ chuṇi*. *AG*: *ghuṭi ghuṭi*.
[178]*AG* stanza 3.
[179]The *AG* version omits the reference to the divine Name.
[180]*AG* stanza 2.
[181]*simmal*, or *sālmalī*: *Bombax heptapyllum*, the silk-cotton tre
[182]*AG*: 'I scan [the road] with my eyes, but nothing do I find.'
[183]*arādhīai*. *AG sāmali*, 'care for'.
[184]*tūn badhā*, 'you [r] bonds', has been added from the *AG* version.

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Baba [Nanak thus] relieved Bhola the Robber of his distress and proceeded on his way. The sakhi concerning Bhola the Robber is finished. Another sakhi follows.

ILLUSTRATION 10

[THE ENCOUNTER WITH KALIYUG]

44a [Continuing on their way the two travellers] entered a great and fearsome wilderness where no dwelling was to be seen. One day, in accordance with the command [of God], there came darkness and a terrible storm. [Around them flashed] black, white, and red; torrents of rain [fell as] awesome black clouds rolled over. Mardana was terrified. "Babaji !" he cried. "A mighty storm has blown up. It is raining ! Let us flee ! Come, let us take shelter under a tree !"

"Say 'Praise to the Guru',[185] Mardana, and nothing will

[185]The words *vāh gurū* (also *vāhi gurū* or *vāhu gurū*), literally 'praise to the Guru', are used in three different senses by the janam-sakhis, none of them corresponding to the modern usage. The most characteristic janam-sakhi usage is as an ascription of praise. Although this may originally have been addressed to God the janam-sakhi compilers normally use it with reference to the memory of Guru Nanak. The *Purātan* and *Mahimā Prakāś* janam-sakhis commonly append it to sakhis in the form of a concluding exhortation: *bolahu vāhi gurū*, 'Cry: Praise to the Guru !' *Pur JS*, pp. 5, 6, 13, &c. *SLTGN (Eng)*, pp. 59-87 *passim*. Sometimes it is repeated several times *B40*, ff. 116b, 218a, 230b; *Pur JS*, p. 115) and elsewhere it may be used in conjunction with the similar formula *dhan gurū*, 'Glory to the Guru !' The *B40* compiler's final ascription of praise uses both expressions, plainly indicating that they refer to Guru Nanak : *vāhu gurū dhan gurū karan kāraṇuhāru samarathu bābā nānak jī*. (*B40*, f. 231a, also 126b.) Sustained ascriptions of this kind reach their climax in the extant *Miharbān Janam-sākhi*. Occasionally variant forms are used, as when the *B40* compiler or his source writes *vāh vāh bābā nānak*. (*B40*, f. 154a. See also f. 100b.)

The second janam-sakhi usage is as a charm, uttered in order to ward off danger or to effect a miracle. When used in this manner the formula is attributed to Baba Nanak and the word *gurū* obviously refers to God. This usage appears with particular frequency in the *B40* compiler's *Narrative III* material. (*B40*, ff. 158a, 161a, 181b, 182b, 184b.) The *Purātan* janam-sakhis employ it to revivify a dead elephant and to remove a pot which has mysteriously adhered to a woman's head. (*Pur JS*, pp. 24, 37.)

The third janam-sakhi usage is as a suitable *mantra* for the popular application of the *nām simaran* technique. Although Nanak had taught a more subtle method of *nām simaran*, or 'remembering the divine Name', the janam-sakhis testify to a general reversion to the simple repetition of a chosen word or formula. One such formula was *vāh nānak* (*B40*, f. 104a) and another was [illegible] f. 196b).

It was evidently this third usage which produced the modern understanding of the expression. Because the words *vāh gurū* were used for *nām simaran* it evidently

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come near you," answered Baba [Nanak]. "This darkness and rain, and these clouds of smoke, will go. Keep calm."

Gradually the darkness and the rain lifted. [When they had cleared] there appeared the figure of a demon with huge fangs, the top of his head touching the heavens and its feet the ground. Enormous was its belly and terrifying its evil
44b eyes ! Fearsomely it advanced [towards them]. "Babaji !" cried Mardana, "the Guru[186] saved us from the storm, but this calamity we shall not escape !"

"Say 'Praise to the Guru,' Mardana," replied Baba [Nanak], "and like the storm this too will depart. Keep calm."

In accordance with the command [of God the apparition] assumed the form of a man standing respectfully erect before them in an attitude of submission. "who are you ?" asked Baba [Nanak], and it replied, "Gracious one, I am Kaliyug.[187] I am greatly honoured by your entry into my kingdom, into this domain of mine. Accept an offering from me."

came to be assumed that the *mantra* must be, in a literal sense, the actual *nām* (name) of God. The two words coalesced to form the single word 'Vahiguru, and this became one of the characteristic Sikh names for God. In some instances early usages were then reinterpreted to bring them into accord with the later understanding. Cf. *Savaie mahale chauthe ke* 52 of the bard Gayand, *AG* p. 1403. The change in meaning was apparently taking place during the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. This is clear from the *Dasam Granth* invocation *srī vāhigurū jī kī fateh*, a formula which can only mean 'Victory to Sri Vahiguru ji'. Cf. also *Pur JS*, p. 115; and Kahn Singh, *Gurmat Mārtand*, vol. 2 (Amritsar, 1962), p. 819.

The first *vār* of Bhai Gurdas includes in its final stanza a fanciful etymology of the single word *vāhigurū*. It comprises, so the stanza claims, a combination of the initial letters of the four names which have been used as *mantras* during the four different *yugas*. For the *Satya-yuga* the name was Vasdev; for the *Treta-yuga* Ram; for the *Dvāpara-yuga* Hari Krisna; and for the *Kali-yuga* Gobind. (*BG* I: 49.) This final stanza of the first *vār* is plainly a latter addition to the authentic work of Bhai Gurdas. Bhai Gurdas commonly uses the formula *vāhi gurū* as a *mantra*. (*BG* 9 : 13, 11 : 3, and 13 : 2; also 4 : 17, 6 : 5, 11 : 8, 12 : 17, 24 : 1.) He does not use it as a name of God. A usage which appears in 40 : 22 could perhaps be interpreted in the latter sense, but *Vār* 40 is another of the latter supplements to Bhai Gurdas's work.

[186] God.

[187] The *Kali-yuga* is the fourth and last in the cycle of *yugas* or cosmic eras, the period of deepest degeneracy preceding the restoration of absolute truth and fulfilment in the *Krita-* or *Satya-yuga*. Here, however, the word designates a manifestation in material from of all the characteristic evils and vices of the fourth *yuga*. See *GNSR*, p. 41. The origin of the janam-sakhi an of the *Kali-yuga* was probably the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* I. 17. 28-41. Kaliyuga is also incarnated in the *Nalopākhyāna Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*.

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"What is there in all that you have to offer ?"[188] asked Baba [Nanak]. "Tell me, may I ask whatever I please ?"

45a "Gracious one," replied Kaliyug, "if you command I shall erect a palace studded with pearls and anointed with musk."

Baba [Nanak, in response,] sang a shabad in [the measure] *Sirī Rāg*. "Mardana," he said, "play the rabab [so that I may] sing a shabad."[189]

Sirī Rāg

If [for me] there were to be built a palace of pearl encrusted with jewels,
Anointed with musk, with saffron, [with the fragrance of] aloes and sandal,
Forbid it, [O Lord], that beholding it I should forget Thee and fail to call to mind Thy Name. 1.

Without God let [my] soul burn and be consumed.
Having enquired of my Guru I perceived that [apart from Him] there can be no other dwelling-place [for me]. *Refrain*

Kaliyug then said, "If you so command I shall encrust the whole world with diamonds, and stud a bed with pearls and rubies." [In reply] Baba [Nanak] sang the second stanza.

If the world were to be encrusted with diamonds and rubies, my bed studded with rubies;
45b And if there were to be an alluring damsel, her face glistening with jewels, tempting [me] with seductive gesture;
Forbid it, [O Lord], that beholding [such temptation] I should forget Thee and fail to call to mind Thy Name. 2.

Kaliyug then said, "If you so command I shall give you command over all lands." Baba [Nanak] sang the fourth stanza.

If I were to be a monarch, one who gathered an army and sat upon a throne;
If I were to rule [a nation] all, Nanak, would be in vain.
Forbid it, [O Lord], that beholding [such authority] I

[188] *bīsār*: wares spread out on display.
[189] *Sirī Rāgu* 1, *AG* p. 14.

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should forget Thee and fail to call to mind Thy Name. 4.

46a "I have no use for [the things] you have been describing," continued Baba [Nanak]. "What else do you have ? What kind of kingdom have you ? What manner of deeds [do you expect from your subjects] and what way of life do you [impose on them] ?

"My Lord, [in my kingdom] the way of life is of the kind which is characteristic of the Kaliyug. [It consists of] hunger, lethargy, thirst, abuse, avarice, sloth, drunkenness, and indolence. Highway robbery, gambling, strangling, slander, the four [cardinal] sins,[190] falsehood, deceit, wrath, greed, covetousness, and pride abound. There is scarcely one in ten million who can evade my authority. No, *all* are in my power."

"I am asking you for a boon, brother," said Baba [Nanak].

"Gracious one," replied Kaliyug, "I shall do whatever you command."

46b "Let not any of my Sikhs[191] who may be under your authority[192] be harassed, brother," said Baba [Nanak], "nor any sangat[193] of mine which may be within your domains. Do not let your shadow fall upon them. Let not the recitation of shabads, [works of] mercy and benevolence, holy charity, (remembrance of) the divine Name, and bathing in the *tīrath*[194] of Truth be neglected."

"Merciful one," Kaliyug begged him, "forgive my error. Of all ages (*yuga*) my authority is the greatest."

"If you are going to give a boon," replied Baba [Nanak],

[190] *chār pāpu*: the slaying of a Brahman, the consumption of intoxicating liquor, theft, and intercourse with the wife of one's Guru. *MK*, p. 347.

[191] *sikh*. Although the word has been given an initial capital in the English translation it seems that the word could still mean 'disciple' in a general sense rather than in the specific sense of 'a disciple of Baba Nanak'. The *Colebrooke* compiler plainly had the general sense in mind when he had one of Nanak's interlocutors say, 'I was the *sikh* of an acharya.' (*Pur JS*, p. 71.) It is, however, clear that by the time the *B40* janam-sakhi was recorded usage must have been moving strongly towards the specific and exclusive sense.

[192] *tej*: glory, splendour, power.

[193] *sangat*: 'congregation' or group of devotees. The recurrence of the term in the janam-sakhi indicates that the sangat occupied a position of primary importance in the Sikh organisation of the janam-sakhi period. An indication of the function of the ideal sangat is given in the last sentence of the paragraph. See *ESC*, pp. 46-48.

[194] *tal*: the bank of a river. *tīrath*: a place of pilgrimage where In the works of Guru Nanak the practice is interiorised. Outer bathing at pilgrimage centres is declared to be futile. Instead, inward 'bathing' in Truth is enjoined. *GNSR*, pp. 210-11.

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"then let it be this. Let my Sangats live in peace, happiness, and the fear [of God]."

"You are omniscient, merciful one, "answered Kaliyug, "but even if one is regarded [by others] as a mighty sadhu, yet to me he is a mere man."

"If you are going to give a boon then let it be this," repeated Baba [Nanak].

47a Kaliyug then adopted an attitude of submission. "My Lord," he said, "my life, my soul, everything is at your disposal."

"Swear to me that this is the case, brother," answered Guru Baba [Nanak].

Kaliyug swore it three times and fell at his feet. Baba [Nanak] was filled with joy. "Go on your way," he said. "Your glory shall exceed that of all ages. In your kingdom there will be *kīrtan* and *kathā*[195] of the most exalted kind. [Previously men] performed austerities for a hundred thousand years [in order to obtain salvation], but in your age if anyone meditates [upon the divine Name] with undivided concentration for only half an hour[196] he will be saved."

[LAMENTING WOMEN COMMENDED]

Baba [Nanak] and Mardana then proceeded on their way and came to a village where a death had occurred. Women

47b were lamenting, [crying out], "Alas ! Alas for [our] Lord ! O God ! O God !" Baba [Nanak] heard [their cries] and was greatly saddened. "Blessed be this town," he said, "and blessed be these women who repeat the Name of God." He then uttered a shalok.[197]

'Alas ! Alas !' they cry, 'Woe ! Woe !'
They scream and tear their hair.
Let them instead take the divine Name and repeat it.
To such Nanak offers himself a sacrifice.

Baba [Nanak] and Mardana then left that place. The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [relating a discourse] with a Sikh.

[195]*kīrtan*: corporate singing of devotional songs. *kathā*: oral commentary on sacred scripture or the narrating of pious anecdotes. Congregational *kīrtan* is a Vaisnava custom, also practised widely by other devotional traditions. Amongst the Vaisnavas (but not in Sikh congregations) it might also include dancing. It can be traced at least as far back as the Alvars of the sixth or se
A. D. Shashibhusan Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults* (Calcutta, 1962), p. 169.

[196]Lit. 'for a single *ghari*' (twenty-four minutes).

[197]*Surplus Shalcks* (6), *AG* p. 1410.

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48a

ILLUSTRATION 11

[A POOR SIKH'S DEVOTION TO BABA NANAK]

48b Reaching a certain place Baba [Nanak] and Mardana sat down. A Sikh [who was passing and] who happened to glance in that direction observed that a sādhu was [sitting] there and that sublime music[198] was being sung. [When he heard it] his spirit was overwhelmed.[199] He approached [Baba Nanak] and said, Gracious one, pay visit my house."[200] [Accepting the invitation] Baba [Nanak] and Mardana both accompanied him [to his house].

Now this Sikh belonged to a very poor family. If he obtained anything at night he received nothing during the day; and if he obtained anything during the day he received nothing at night.[201] [The family consisted of] the Sikh, his wife and one child. They prepared food which Baba [Nanak] and Mardana ate. Next day [the Sikh] took some things from his house to sell them, and having done so he [was able to] provide [more] food with the money which he received. The following day he managed, with great difficulty, to
49a provide food [again], but the day after he had nothing. On his head he had long hair which he cut off and twisted into a fine necklace.[202] This he took to the bazaar and having sold it he purchased food [with the proceeds].

While the Sikh's wife was cooking the food [she had with her] the child, who was small. Leaving him in the *chaukā*[203] she went to bring something from inside. In accordance with the will [of God] the child, while amusing himself, fell into the fire-place and was fatally burnt. When the Sikh's wife returned she discovered that the child had been burnt. Without a word she wrapped him in a sheet and laid him inside. She did not even tell her husband in case the sadhu should overhear and be grieved.

[198] *anahad śabad*. In its original sense the term refers to the mystical 'sound' or 'unstruck music' which is 'heard' at the climax of the hatha-yoga process. In the works of Guru Nanak it serves as a symbol for the ineffable experience which climaxes the discipline of *nām simaran*. In this janam-sakhi context it means a shabad of sublime quality.

[199] Lit. 'soaked'.

[200] *ṭhākur-duārā*: lit. 'temple'.

[201] He was so poor that he could afford only one meal a day.

[202] *selī*: the necklace worn by faqirs (commonly made of hair).

[203] The area plastered with mud and cow-dung in which food [illegible]ten. For a detailed description of culinary customs see the section "Ceremonies in Cooking and Eating" in the *Ā'īn* III. 297-98.

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The food was duly prepared and Baba [Nanak], with the Sikh, came and sat in the *chaukā*. "Where is the child ?" asked Baba [Nanak].

49b "He must be somewhere inside or out, sir," replied the women, "[either] sleeping or sitting [somewhere]."

"Bring him here," said Baba [Nanak]

"He is asleep." answered the women.

"Dear child !" called Baba [Nanak] and the child pranced out. The Sikh and his wife fell at [Baba Nanak's] feet. "Wondrous is your devotion !"[204] they cried [in awe].

Next day, when no one was present, they took the child to another person in order to sell him. "Where is the child ?" Baba [Nanak] asked [after they had returned]. "Sir, all things are known to you," replied the Sikh's wife. "Bring him here," commanded Baba [Nanak].

They brought the child and Baba [Nanak] said [to him] "[You must realise], boy, that because your parents are selling you [into bondage] you will have to turn the mill-stone, wave the fan, bring water. and dance [for your master]."

50a "Sir," replied the child, "my good fortune is in whatever God wills."

[Observing such faith] Baba [Nanak] had peace in his heart and was satisfied. He embraced those Sikhs warmly. Then he recited a shabad in *Marū* raga and Mardana sang [it].[205]

Rāg Mārū

Baba,[206] what cunning can Thy [ignorant] slave possess !
The divine Order of the Lord can never be obliterated.[207]
Refrain[208]

I am a slave, bought with a price, and blessed is my name that I am inthrall [to thee].
At the Guru's bidding I have sold [myself] at [Thy] shop and do whatever I am commanded [by Thee]. 1.

[204]The power earned through the merit of your devotion to God.

[205]*Mārū* 6, *AG* p. 991. In the *Purātan* janam-sakhis Baba Nanak recites this shabad while labouring as a slave in Babur's prison. *Pur JS*, p. 60.

[206]The *AG* version lacks the word *bābā*.

[207]*metia*. The *AG* version has *karaṇā*, which means that the line must be construed as: 'How can I fulfil the command of the Lord ?'

[208]In the *AG* version the refrain comes in the usual place, between the first and second stanzas.

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If Thou dost command I bring water, Master, and if Thou dost command I grind [grain].[209]

I wave the fan, massage Thy feet, and constantly repeat the Name of God.[210] 2.

50b [My] mother [is Thy] slave and [my] father also; I have been born of [Thy] slaves.

One slave sings, the other dances, [both] in adoration of God the Lord.[211] 3.

Nanak is a faithless slave, but Thy greatness [is expressed in Thy] forgiveness.

Through all ages Thou art the Lord of Mercy, the Giver; within every heart is shed abroad Thy power.[212] 4.

Once, in accordance with the command [of God, Baba Nanak] made his way to Mecca and to Rum.[213] The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [describing a visit to] Mecca.

51a

ILLUSTRATION 12

[MECCA : THE MOVING *MIHARĀB*][214]

51b [When he reached the city] Baba [Nanak] lay down in the Mecca mosque and went to sleep with his feet towards the *miharāb*.[215] A mullah, [who was] the mosque attendant, appeared and cried out," [You blasphemous] fellow ! Why have you gone to sleep with your feet stretched out towards the house of God ?"

"My friend," answered Baba [Nanak], "Lay my feet in whatever direction the house of God is not [to be found]."

When the mullah placed Baba [Nanak's] feet in a northerly direction the *miharāb* moved in the same direction. When he moved Baba [Nanak's] feet to the east the front of the *miharāb* also moved in that direction, and when he carried

[209] *AG*: 'If you are thirsty I bring water, Master; if hungry I grind [grain].'

[210] *AG*: 'Thy Name'. In the *AG* version this is the third stanza.

[211] *AG* stanza 2.

[212] *AG*: 'without Thee there can be no salvation.'

[213] In Muslim texts Rum designates the Byzantine Empire. *Enc. Isl.* III. 1174-75. Cf. *surah* 30 of the Qur'an. There is, however, evidence which suggests that the janam-sakhi writers who use the term may have envisaged it as a city. The *Gyān-ratanāvalī* explicitly refers to it as *rūm śahir*, 'the city of Rum' *GR*, p. 421.

[214] This sakhi is discussed in *EST*.

[215] The niche in a mosque which indicates the *qiblah* (the direction of the Ka'bah). The reference to a *miharāb* rather than to the Ka'bah suggests that the anecdote may originally have had a setting away from Mecca. *GNSR*, pp. 123-24.

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Baba [Nanak's] feet to the south the *miharāb* went the same way.[216] Then from the cupola [of the mosque] there echoed
52a a voice, mysterious and resonant. "Praise be to Nanak !" [it boomed], "Praise be to Nanak !" Baba [Nanak] recited a shabad in *Tilang* raga [which] Mardana [then] sang.[217]

Rāg Tilang

Merge [your] heart in the [divine] Heart, O mullah.
In the heart the Creator Lord instils goodness and virtue.
Refrain

Within the heart is the assurance of faith and the fulfilment of this word's strivings; within the heart is a rosary and all that one needs to reach the other world.
Within the heart are sweetmeats, sugar, the sweet and the savoury.[218] 1.

Within the heart is the seeker, the place of pilgrimage, and the faqir's abode; within the heart is the path of continence.
Within the heart dwell Hasan, Hussain, and Mistress Fatimah; within the heart is the [one, true] Maulana. 2.

Within the heart are mercy, love, [and all the merits of] Medina; whithin the heart is the tomb [whereat to worship].
Truth and divine sanction, both are within the heart, whether one recognise them or no. 3.

52b Within the heart is knowledge, divine discourse, and worship; within the heart dwell both God and His Apostle.
Nanak the seeker has searched within the heart; thus has he won acceptance in the court [of the Most High]. 4.

[Baba Nanak] then travelled from there to Multan. The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [relating a discourse] with Shah Rukandi, grandson of Makhdum Bahavadi.

[216]The three directions indicate a North Indian consciousness. Mosques in northern India are aligned in a westerly direction.

[217]This shabad is not in the *AG*. Its theme suggests that it is a Sufi composition to which Nanak's name has subsequently been attached. The word he as 'heart' is *dil*.

[218]Lit. 'Within the heart there form sweetmeat mixture, refined sugar, unrefined sugar, and samosa.'

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ILLUSTRATION 13

53a [DISCOURSE WITH SHAH RUKANDI]

[Once Baba Nanak] held a discourse with Shah Rukandi,[219] grandson [and successor of the celebrated Sufi pir] Makhdum Bahavadi.[220] [Shah Rukandi] was delighted [to meet Baba Nanak and between them] there was a complete harmony of spirit.

"Nanakji", said Shah Rukandi to Nanak, "tell me something concerning God."

"[The will of] God has been fulfilled,[221] Shahji," [replied Baba Nanak].

[219]Shah Rukandi is obviously the celebrated Sufi pir Rukn al-Din, correctly identified by the janam-sakhi narrator as the *potā* (both grandson and spiritual successor) of Baha' al-Din Zakariyya. See below note 220. According to Abu al-Fazl, Sheikh Sadr al-Din 'Arif was the son of Baha' al-Din; and Rukn al-Din was the son of Sadr al-Din. Rukn al-Din lived in Multan during the fourteenth century and was visited there by Ibn Batuta in 1334. He is reported to have been an efficient administrator as well as a genuine Sufi and to have paid frequent visits to the court at Delhi. Cunningham describes his tomb as "the glory of Multan". A reference at the beginning of the next sakhi indicates that this discourse with Shah Rukandi is intended to be set in Multan. *Ā'īn* III. 364-65. E. D. Maclagan, *Gazetteer of the Multan District* (Lahore, 1902), p. 341. Alexander Cunningham, *ASI* (1872-73) v. 132. M. Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims* (London, 1967), pp. 138-39. *E. & D.* III. 606. Lepel H. Griffin, *The Panjab Chiefs* (Lahore, 1890), vol. 2, p. 85.

[220]Sheikh Baha' al-Din Zakariyya, otherwise known as Baha' al-Haqq, the founder of the Suhrawardi Sufi order in India. Baha' al-Din is said to have been born at Kot Karor, near Multan, in either 565 H (AD 1169-70) or 578 H (AD 1182-83). He received instruction from Sheikh Shihab al-Din 'Umar Suhrawardi in Baghdad and with Sheikh Jalal Tabrizi was commissioned to establish the Suhrawardi order in India. The *khānqāh* which he founded in Multan developed into a great centre of Sufi learning and devotion. It was not, however, a copy of earlier Sufi centres, for Baha' al-Din shared neither the Chishti emphasis upon asceticism nor their unwillingness to associate with rulers and aristocrats. According to the *Khulāsat al-'Ārifin* he was a grandson of 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani, and Abu al-Fazl claims that he was subsequently a close associate of Farid al-Din Mas 'ud Ganj-i-Shakar. Abu al-Fazl's account of his death is of particular interest as an example of how earlier traditions reappear in the janam-sakhis.

On the 7th of Zafar A.H. 665 (7th November 1266), an aged person of grave aspect sent in to him a sealed letter by the hand of his son Sadr-ud-din. He read it and gave up the ghost; and a loud voice was heard from the four corners of the town : "Friend is united to friend" (*Dost ba dost rasīd*). —*Ā'īn* III. 363. The *Purātan* janam-sakhis anachronistically declare that this letter was sent by Baba Nanak, and the *Mahimā Prakāś* version repeats the same claim. *Pur JS*, p. 109. *SLTGN* (*Eng*), pp. 84-85. Other sources give 66 as the year of his death. *Enc. Isl.* (*New Ed.*) I.912. E.D. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 339. M. Mujeeb, op. cit., pp. 116-17, 137. Lepel H. Griffin, op. cit., pp. 83-85.

[221]Translation doubtful.

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"You are a great [saint]," [continued Shah Rukandi], "one near to and beloved of God. I have been blessed and honoured in meeting one who is beloved of God. We have met God [here] in our very midst !"

Then Baba [Nanak], taking *alef, be,* [and the other letters of the alphabet in turn] recited the *Tih Sipāre.*[222]

Sipāre

alef Remember Allah and banish indolence from your heart.
If one draws breath without [remembering] the divine Name life in this world is futile. 1.

53b *be* Cast aside infidelity and follow the Shari'at. Humble yourself before all; speak ill of none. 2.

te Repent with a sincere heart lest you should regret [your folly].
Consider what your plight will be when your body perishes and your countenance is no more. 3.

se Offer abundant praises [to the Lord]; let not a breath pass without [praising Him].
Any other activity is a fruitless endeavour. 4.

jim Earn merit by keeping the company [of the holy] and so prepare for your departure [from this life].
Without your Master you will for ever [wander] in darkness. 5.

he Cleave to humility; banish desire from your heart.
Control your wayward thoughts, O Rukandi; with every breath [remember] the Creator Lord. 6.

khe Treacherous are they who have forgotten the Creator.
Engrossed in *maya* they heap upon [their] heads a burden [of sin]. 7.

dāl Follow virtue, O [my] *man*, and sleep not day nor night.

[222]The "Thirty Stanzas". *tīh* : thirty. *sipārā* : a thirtieth part, section of the Qur'an (not to be confused with *sūrah*). The acrostic which follows is based upon the letters of the Arabic alphabet and has as its theme salvation according to the amalgam of Muslim and Sant beliefs which evidently constituted much of the popular Sufism of the Punjab during the janam-sakhi period. It is a composition of indifferent quality which is not in the Adi Granth and which could not possibly be the work of Guru Nanak. The *Purātan* janam-sakhis also include this work in the context of a discourse with Rukandi, but set it in Mecca. *Photozincograph Facsimile*, pp. 396-402. *Pur JS*, p. 103, and Appendix 5, p. 120. An authentic acrostic by Guru Nanak, based on the Gurmukhi alphabet, is to be found in rag, *AG* pp. 432-34.

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Throughout one watch of the night remain wakeful and utter the praises [of God]. 8.

54a *zāl* Humbly recite [His Name, for] the Lord disdains [the careless].
He [the Almighty] acts as He chooses; none [there be who can thwart Him. 9.

re Do you wish to behold the path of faith ?
Control the five [evil impulses], O Rukandi and fasten your attention [wholly] upon the Lord. 10.

ze Know that you must cry [for mercy]; forget not the Lord.
Thus you shall be spared regrets; your *man* shall be set free from covetousness. 11.

sīn Cleanse your *man*, [for] within you dwells the Lord.
[Your] body is a vessel, skilfully designed and permeated [by the divine Presence]. 12.

shīn Obtain martyrdom by dying in [the ecstasy of] mystical union.
Seek God, O Rukandi, for this mortal flesh will not remain. 13.

sād Let the praises of Muhammed be upon your lips; utter endless [blessings upon him].
[God] created him a chosen servant, and predestined him to be [man's] best friend. 14.

zād To err and stray has become your only pattern of life.
54b By constantly following this way you miss the secret [of salvation]. 15.

ta Seek the blessing [of God]; in union [with Him is true] life.
All sorrow depart when we behold those who have cut through the net of *māyā*. 16.

za The [real] tyrants are they who do not remember the divine Name.
How can they find rest without their Lord ? 17.

ain If one wishes to acquire [merit] then let him perform [good] deeds.
Without [good] deeds there can be no merit—only regret at the time of death. 18.

gain He is [truly] rich, O Rukandi, who was comprehended his true nature.
Within this human frame dwells [the one who is wholly free, He the unborn] who has neither mother nor father. 19.

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fe Delivered are they who obey the will of the True Guru.
Merged in union with the [Eternal] One they have experienced the Truth within their *man*. 20.

qāf They in whose *man* dwells longing [for the Lord] know no rest [until they find Him].
They who have met the Lord [ring like] gold [upon] the touchstone. 21.

kāf Hold in remembrance the *kalima* from which flow so many benefits.

55a Never surrender, O Rukandi, to the carnal self and its lusts. 22.

lām A curse be upon those who neglect the daily *namāz*. [Thereby] they dissipate whatever merit they may [previously] have earned. 23.

mīm Have faith in Muhammad and in the four holy books.[223]
Have faith in the Prophet of God, [in Him] whose court is highly exalted. 24.

nūn Now there is no wavering; all [my deeds have been approved [by the Lord].
Do not make the mistake of believing that *māyā* yet holds you in its grasp. 25.

vāv When blows the wind [of God], O Rukandi, seek ecstasy in the company of the true believers.
[A life] caught in [wordly] entanglements is a life of waste and folly. 26.

he The Day of Judgement is a day of dread.
What verdict, O Rukandi, will be passed upon us? 27.

lām Justified are they upon whom [the Judge] looks with grace.
What benefits can life bestow if it be spent in heedlessness? 28.

55b *alef* Allah is with you; why, O ignorant one, do you not repeat [His Name]?
In the service of the Guru and by His instruction you shall comprehend the ultimate meaning of life. 29.

ye Let your intimacy be with God, for in this [relationship alone] is there permanence. [He who enjoys this intimacy] with the one shall suffer no privation. 30.
The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [relating] a discourse with Baba Rattan Haji.

[223]The *kateb*, the four so-called Semitic texts, or revealed scriptures of Christians, and Muslims. The term may refer to the Qur'an alone. More commonly it collectively designates the *Torah*, the *Zabūr* (the Psalms), the *Injil* (the Gospels), and the Qur'an.

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ILLUSTRATION 14

56a [A DISCOURSE WITH RATTAN HAJI]

[Baba Nanak] then proceeded on from Multan [and later] held discourse with Baba Rattan Haji, the Jungle Pir.[224] Great was the happiness [of the occasion] and great the rejoicing. [Their spirits blended in amity and concord as] water mingles with water.

"Nanakji," said Baba Rattan Haji, "you are a great [saint], one beloved of God and most intimate with Him. It is by God's grace that you have come. I have been greatly honoured by this meeting with you, greatly honoured! [From your presence here] I have derived great benefit. But let me hear one of your compositions, one which [later] will remind me of you."

[In response to this request] Baba [Nanak] sang a ghazal in *Tilaṇg* raga.[225]

They who dwell in God's presence will obtain mercy;
whereas the caviller is no disciple.
The man of faith is the friend [of God]; the faithless man
is an unbeliever.
Anger is proscribed; and fleshly lusts satanic.
Duplicity is contemptible.

[224]The traditions concerning Rattan Haji are confused. One tradition is associated with a shrine near Bhatinda.

> At Haji Ratan, 3 miles from Bhatinda, is the shrine of Haji Ratan, a large building with a mosque and gateway, and surrounded by a wall on all sides... Ratan Pal or Chan (*sic*) Kaur was the Diwan of Bine Pal, Raja of Bhatinda, and with his aid Shahab-ud-Din Ghori conquered that fortress, massacring the Raja and all his family. Ratan Pal then became a Muhammadan, and made a pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return he became known as Haji Ratan, and on his death in 1321 this shrine was built by royal command.
>
> —*Punjab States Gazetteers*, vol. XVIIA, *Phulkian States: Patiala, Jind, and Nabha* (Lahore, 1909), p. 80.

This is presumably the Sheikh Baba Ratan to whom Abu al-Fazl makes a passing reference and who is variously said to have died in AH 596, 612, and 632. *Ā'īn* III. 360-61. The dominant tradition in Punjabi folklore is, however, different. It represents him as preceptor of the legendary Guga Pir, or Zahir Pir. Whereas Crooke's informant placed him in Mecca, Temple's informant named Ajmer. W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, vol. 1 (Delhi, 1968), p. 212. R.C. Temple, *The Legends of the Panjāb*, vol. 1 (London, 1884), p. 205.

[225]The composition which follows is structurally neither a ghazal nor a shabad in *Tilaṇg* raga. Even the content of the work is unsuited to a ghazal. Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature* (Dordrecht, 1968), pp. 95, 252. In later contexts it bears the title *Hāzar Nāmā*, or "Presence Homily", the name being derived from its first word (*hāzarān*). *NPr* II. 37 (29). Whereas the *B40* compiler

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56b Malevolence is unholy; holiness is to be tender-hearted.
Desire is a false path; absence of desire [the way of] saints.
Irreligion means [irresponsible] freedom from obligations; ingratitude is dejection.
Truth is heaven; untruth is hell.
Learning is forbearnce; violence is oppression.
Justice is pure; wisdom a scripture.
Haughtiness is calamity; doubt a curse.
Bad language is insipid.
He who is compassionate is a dervish; he who is without compassion is a butcher.
Benevolence is virtuous; malice is avaricious.
Praise [of God] is the sacred ablution; the call to prayer the divine Word.
Youth is intoxication; and robbery is greed.
Carnal affection is pollution.
Renunciation is patience; impatience is deceit.
The [true] path is faith; straying [from the path] is unbelief.
Prayer is wealth; cursing an outrage.
Justice is a king; the sword a hero.
57a He who seeks here [in this world] finds [the object of his spiritual quest].

And so [Baba] Nanak held discourse with Rattan Haji and called him wise. The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [relating a discourse] with Sheikh Braham.

sets this work in the context of a discourse with Baba Rattan Hazi which took place after Baba Nanak had left Multan, Santokh Singh attaches it in the *Nānak Prakāś* to his description of Nanak's approach to Multan. Santokh Singh here follows the tradition which in its Sikh form first appears in Bhai Gurdas's *Vār I*. As Nanak drew near the city the Sufi pirs already installed there brought out to a cup filled to the brim with milk, the intention being to indicate that Multan already possessed all the holy men it required. Nanak responded by laying a jasmine petal on the surface of the milk, thereby proclaiming that there was room for one more. *BG* I.44. *GNSR*, p. 142. Santokh Singh adds to this earlier tradition the claim that the pirs who brought the symbolic cup of milk to Nanak were Shamas Tabriz (Shams al-Din Tabrizi), Bahaval Haq (Baha' al-Din Zakariyya), and Rukandin (Rukn al-Din). The supplement goes on to claim that Baba Nanak, having laid the jasmine petal on the milk, engaged the three pirs in discourse, and that during their discussion he recited the *Hāzar Nāmā*. *NPr* II. 37. The two versions are marked by numerous differences, particularly with regard to the order in which the apophthegms are recorded. The *Purātan* janam-sakhis give yet another version of the *Hāzar Nāmā*, setting it in the context of a discourse with Mia Mitha. *Photozincograph Facsimile*, pp. 275-76. *Pur JS*, pp. 70n, and Appendix 2, pp. 117-18. Macauliffe erroneously refers to it as the *Nasihat Nāmā*. Macauliffe i. 128-29. For Mia Mitha see note 146; and for the *Nasihat Nāmā* see above p. 9. note 28 of Introduction.

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ILLUSTRATION 15

57b [BABA NANAK'S DISCOURSE WITH SHEIKH BRAHAM][226]

Having observed the busy activity[227] of that area, Baba [Nanak] retired to a wilderness and there rested. Mardana was also with him. [Now] Sheikh Farid had been the Pir of Pattan.[228] In his place [as pir of sufi *silsila*] was [his successor] Sheikh Braham.[229] One of [Sheikh Braham's] disciples, whose name was Sheikh Kamal, had come out during the morning to gather wood. He was a worthy faqir, one who knew God, and he had come to collect firewood for [his] master's kitchen.[230] Baba [Nanak] and Mardana were seated ahead [of him]. Mardana was playing the rabab and [as Sheikh Kamal drew near] he began to sing a shabad. First he sang a shalok in *Āsā* raga.[231]

Thou art the slate, Thou the pen, and Thou the writing upon it.
Nanak declares there is but One; what need is there of another ?

Hearing this shalok Kamal dropped [his] firewood and approached them. He bowed [before Baba Nanak], sat
58a down, and made a request. "Respected master,"[232] [he said], "pray have the couplet sung again."

Mardana was duly commanded [to do so]. He sang the shalok once again and Kamal memorised it. Then picking up the wood which he had collected he made salaam [to them] and returned home.

[When he arrived there] he threw down the wood and went to salaam his master. "Respected Master, I have met one who loves God," [he announced].

"Where did you meet him, Kamal ?" the Pir asked.

[226]This sakhi is analysed in *EST*.

[227]*tamāśā* : lit. sport, recreation, comic entertainment. Here, however, the word is set in contrast to Baba Nanak's withdrawal to the seclusion of a wilderness and evidently refers to the clamour of worldly life in a town or other inhabited area.

[228]Pak Pattan in Montgomery District.

[229]Sheikh Ibrahim, twelfth successor of Sheikh Farid al-Din Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar.

[230]*modīkhānā* : commissariat, store. The reference is presumably to the *khānqāh* which Sheikh Farid's successors maintained in Pak Pattan. The *Colebrooke* manuscript has *mudab-khānā* (*mā'addab-khānah*), a room where instruction is given to disciples. *Pur JS.* p. 52.

[231]In the *AG* this shalok is included in the *vār* of *malār* raga no [illegible] ir 28 : 2, *AG* p. 1291.

[232]*pir ji salāmati.*

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"Master, I had gone to gather firewood," replied Kamal, "and he was ahead of me, sitting [out there] in the wilderness. With him was a rabab-player. His name is Nanak. He was reciting his own couplets."

"Did you learn any [of his] couplets, [my] son?" asked the Pir.

58b "I have indeed memorised a couplet, Master," replied Kamal.

"Then recite it," commanded the Pir, and we shall see what it is like."

"Master," answered Kamal, "he said :

Thou art the slate, Thou the pen, and Thou the writing upon it.
Nanak declares there is but One; what need is there of another ?"

"Do you understand anything of what he said ?" asked the Pir, [to which] Kamal replied, "All understanding is thine."

"Son," continued the Pir, "I must meet the person who uttered this couplet. He is one who loves God. Take me to him and we shall discourse on the things of God."

Sheikh Braham set off in [his] litter, taking Kamal with him. Proceeding on their way they travelled a distance of more than three *kos* [and there] ahead [of them] Baba
59a [Nanak] was sitting. Sheikh Braham [alighted from his litter] and standing [before him] he said, "Nanak, *salām-'alaik*."[233]

"*Alaikum salām*," replied Baba [Nanak], "Welcome Pirji ! God has been gracious to me in granting me this meeting with you." Having each kissed the other's hand[234] they sat down.

Sheikh Braham then said, "Nanakji, when I heard your couplet I was filled with admiration and I declared that I must meet the person who had spoken that couplet."

"I have been greatly favoured by this meeting with you." replied Baba [Nanak].

Sheikh Braham then asked him, "Nanakji, explain the meaning of the couplet in which you say :

Remember the One, O Nanak; what need is there of another ?

But [consider this couplet] :

There is one Lord and two guides.[235]
Which shall I follow and which reject ?

[233] *salām-'alaikum*, 'Peace be with you'; the Muslim greeting.
[234] *dast-bosī*.
[235] *hādī*": spiritual guides, i.e. Hindu and Muslim.

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59b You say that there is only One, but the Hindus claim that they are right and the Muslims [likewise] claim that they are right. Explain to me so that I may understand. Which is justified [in his claim] and which is not justified" ?

Baba Nanak replied [with the following lines] :

[There is] one Lord [and only] one Guide;[236]
Serve the One and spurn [all] others.
Why meditate upon any save [the Eternal One; all others are subject to] birth and death.
Meditate upon the One, O Nanak; [upon Him] who dwells immanent in all creation.[237]

After Baba [Nanak] had recited this shalok the Pir put another question [to him] :

Shalok[238]

Let me rend [my] garments, tear to shreds the blanket which I wear.
Let me wear only that clothing which will bring the Master to me.

Baba [Nanak] responed :

Shalok[239]

Why rend [your] garments, why tear to shreds the blanket which you wear ?
If you but hold [your wayward] mind in check[240] you shall meet the Master while sitting in your own home.
The bride[241] is at home, but the Husband is far away; constantly she looks for tidings [of His coming].[242]
60a [And yet] in meeting with Him there is no delay if [she] but direct [her] will [along the way of] Truth.[243]

[236] *gurū*.

[237] This shalok is not in the *AG*. The third line does, however, bear a marked resemblance to a line from a shalok by Guru Amar Das (*Vār Gujrī* 2:1, *AG* p. 509).

[238] *Farid Shaloks* 103, *AG* p. 1383. In the *AG* version the shalok begins with the word *farīdā*, 'O Farid'.

[239] The first couplet of the response attributed to Baba Nanak is a shalok by Guru Amar Das which in the *AG* is included in the *Farid Shaloks* (no. 104, *AG* p. 1383) immediately following the shalok by Farid quoted above. The second couplet of the response is Guru Nanak's *Vār Vadahamsu* 20:1, *AG* p. 594

[240] *AG* : *je nīati rāsi karei*. 'If [you] direct [your] will [along the [illegible]

[241] *mundhi* : beautiful woman. Nanak is here employing the conv[illegible] Sufi image of the devotee as bride yearning for the divine Bridegroom.

[242] *AG* : 'constantly she pines for Him.'

[243] The *AG* and *B40* texts both have *je nīati* (or *nīyatī*) *rāsi kare*. *Cf.* note 240.

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After Baba [Nanak] had given this reply Sheikh Braham put another question [to him].

Shalok[244]

While she was young she did not enjoy intimacy [with her Beloved];[245] and when she grew old she died [unfulfilled]
Burning [in the fire of separation] the woman is laid in her tomb, never to find her Lord.

[To this] Baba [Nanak] gave the [following] reply :

Shalok[246]

Worthless is the woman who prides herself in physical beauty when her heart is black and impure.
Only if she is virtuous will she find her Husband; otherwise[247] [she is spurned as a] worthless women.

"Sheikhji, [continued Baba Nanak], "suppose a wife is at home and [her] husband has gone to another country. If the wife remains faithful to her husband then the wife is the husband's and the husband is the wife's. But, Sheikhji, suppose the wife should be faithless. She is false to her
60b husband, she remains heedless of her husband, she has become a loose woman. If, however, she remains patiently faithful, then because of her faithfulness she will find fulfilment of her desire. There in her own home she will find her Husband !"

The Sheikh recited [his couplet again] :

While she was young she did not enjoy intimacy [with her Beloved]; and when she grew old she died [unfulfilled].
Burning [in the fire of separation] the woman is laid in her tomb, never to find her Lord.[248]

"Sheikhji," replied Baba [Nanak], "if the woman is wayward and the husband is virtuous why should he show mercy towards her ? If the woman is upright and fears her husband and if her deeds impart sweet fragrance, then the husband will be delighted. If, however, the woman is unworthy and

[244]*Farīd Shaloks* 54, *AG* p. 1380. The *AG* version begins with the identifying word *farīdā*, 'O Farid'. A variant version of the same shalok appears on folio 55b. See note 248.

[245]The *AG* version includes the word *kantu* : beloved, lover, husband.

[246]*Vār Mārū* 5:1, *AG* p. 1088.

[247]*nāhit*. The *AG* version has *nānak* : '[But] Nanak, she is a worthless won.....

[248]*Farīd Shaloks* 54, *AG* p. 1380. Cf. note 244. This second version follows the *AG* text.

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from her issues an unpleasant odour, then will the husband go near her ? She is unworthy because she pays no heed to
61a her husband, and there is an evil smell because she performs evil deeds, remains proud, and manifests a concern for [her own] selfish [interests]. Because of this an evil smell issues [from her]. If this evil is within her, Sheikhji, then how can she go to her husband ? Sheikhji, if she were virtuous then she would be able to go to her husband."

Sheikh Braham then said :

Shalok[249]

What is the password,[250] what the virtue, and what the precious *mantra* ?
What are the garments a handmaid should wear[251] in order to attract [her] Beloved ?

"Nanakji, what is the password by means of which one gains access to the [divine] Husband ? Tell me this. What is the virtue by means of which [the woman] secures [her] Husband ? What is the password ? Tell me the word."

Baba [Nanak] replied :

Shalok[252]

Lowliness is the password, forbearance the virtue, and the tongue is [the vehicle o] the precious *mantra*.[253]
Let the handmaid wear these three [as her garments], for thereby shall she win her Beloved. 1.

61b She who [humbly] serves [her] Beloved wins [her] Beloved;
[But] she who is proud can never find Him, even though she possess a beauty wondrously fair. 2.

"Sheikhji," continued Baba [Nanak], "All who are humble receive their reward. And so this is the password. Some speak good and some speak evil, some give pain and some pleasure. To endure [both] with patience is virtuous. To utter with one's tongue that which is good, to praise one's Lord—this is the precious *mantra*. If one performs service of this kind then the Lord is pleased. Abandoning all

[249]*Farid Shaloks* 126, *AG* p. 1384.
[250]*akhar* : letter of the alphabet, syllable.
[251]*AG* : '...I should wear.'
[252]The first couplet of Nanak's reply is *Farid Shaloks* 127, *AG* p. 1384, a shalok which in the *AG* is attributed to Farid, not to Nanak. The second couplet is not in the *AG*. It is repeated on folio 56b.
[253]For the recitation of the divine Name.

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[other] companions become [the companion] of the Beloved and take His words to heart."

"Having settled [one issue], Nanakji, you have opened up another !" said the Sheikh. "Tell me, does grace follow service or does service follow grace ?"

Baba [Nanak] replied :

She who [humbly] serves [her] Beloved wins [her] Beloved;
[But] she who is proud can never find Him, even though she possess a beauty wondrously fair.[254]

62a "First is His service, Sheikhji, and if anyone perform it humbly God will bestow [the virtue of] piety upon him. If, [however, a man] performs service but is puffed up with pride, then even though his service be of a high order the Lord will not come near him. He will be rejected. The price [of grace], Sheikhji, is service."

"Praise be to Nanak !" cried the Sheikh, falling at Baba [Nanak's] feet. "Praise be to Nanak for he has revealed the way to God. To me there has been revealed some [knowledge] of the way to God. Today I live ? I have met a saint of God and having met [such a man] of God no doubt remains within me. But I have a request. It is presumptuous [of me, but I] must ask one who has met God.
62b It is highly presumptuous, but if you permit then I shall ask."

"Sheikhji," replied Baba [Nanak], "those things are good which are uttered in God's Name. God forbid that we should speak of other things." Baba [Nanak] then recited a shalok.

Shalok[255]

Lust loves a comely figure; hunger couples with taste.
Greed is wedded to possessions and drowsiness craves a bed on which to sleep.
Base anger barks [like a mad dog]; blindly it raises a futile clamour.
To hold one's peace is good, Nanak, for apart from the divine Name your mouth [emits] only stale breath.

"Sheikhji, just as lust loves the human b
drowsiness loves cushions, and just as greed loves posses-

[254]See note 252.
[255]*Vār Malār* 23:1, *AG* p. 1288.

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sions in the same way God's devotees love the divine name. The things of God attract them in the same manner
63a that the human body delights lust and food [satisfies] hunger. Just as drowsiness enjoys a bed, so God's devotees find pleasure in the things of God. Sheikhji, apart from the things of God all other speech is as nothing. The evil which one utters is recorded[255] so why have incriminating reports recorded against yourself? Utter only that which will be recorded to your credit. It is better to remain silent than to speak evil."

"Nanakji," said Sheikh Braham, "I need a knife. Of what kind? Of the kind which, if a man be slain with it, he will be *halāl*.[257] If a man [is slain] by the kind of knife with which an animal's [throat] is cut, then he is *harām*.[258] Give me the knife which, when it cuts a man's [throat] will render him *halāl*."

63b "Take it, Pirji!" replied Baba [Nanak].

Shalok[259]

Truth is a knife and all the steel [where of it is made] is Truth;
Beyond all understanding is the manner of its making.
Let it be honed on the stone of Truth[260] that its form may be perfected.
And sheathed in the scabbard of virtue.
If you should be stabbed with this knife, O Sheikh,
There will flow [from you] the blood of avarice.
You will become *halāl* and so be accepted by God.
At the gate [of Heaven], Nanak [declares, you will behold] a vision [of God and] merge [in mystical union with Him].

"Sheikhji blood will be made to flow and in this [blood] is avarice. As long [as the avarice remains the body] is polluted, unclean. But when the blood flows out [the body] become *halāl*."

The Sheikh, [hearing this], was satisfied and yet at the same time he began to feel anxious. "Whatever we have asked of God," he said, "He has granted and we have been
64a blessed." Then the Sheikh made a request. "Nanakji,

[256]In the register of good and evil deeds maintained in the court of G
[257]Uncontaminated, pure. For *halāl* see note 94.
[258]*harām*: the opposite of *halāl*; prohibited, unlawful.
[259]*Vār Rāmkalī* 19:2, *AG* p. 956. The shalok is by Guru Amar Das.
[260]*AG* 'the stone of the divine Word'.

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that which I needed I have received.[261] But there is another request which I shall make if I have your permission."

"Tell me," replied Baba [Nanak and] the Sheikh uttered the [following] shalok.[262]

Supremely cunning [is *māyā*], beyond deceiving;
No dagger can inflict a wound upon it. [Before it] the spirit of a covetous man falters.[263]
How can a lamp burn without oil ?

"Tell me," said the Sheikh to Baba [Nanak]. *Māyā* cannot be deceived and so no god can deceive it. No one can deceive *māyā* and no one can destory it. *Māyā* cannot be cheated—no one can cheat it. A human being cannot destroy greedy *māyā*. [On the contrary], he carefully protects it. Tell me, Nanakji. How can a lamp burn without oil ? If there is no lamp burning there cannot be
64b light. Without oil how can a lamp burn ?"

[In reply] Baba Nanak recited a shalok.[264]

Draw [the oil of wisdom] from the Qur'an and the Kateb;[265]
Fix the fear [of God] as a wick in [the lamp which is your] body.[266]
So shall the lamp burn without oil.[267]
Shedding light [before you it will guide you to your] meeting with the Lord.

"In this manner a lamp burns without oil and so one meets the Lord."

"Tell me," the Sheikh asked [him]. "Tell me, you who utter the things of God. Is it God who speaks within you ? Or are you God ?"

[261]The *Miharbān* version adds 'from you'. *Mih JS* I.494.

[262]*Sirī Rāgu* 33, *AG* p. 25. The composition is a portion of the first stanza and refrain of a shabad, not a shalok in the *AG* sense; and the author is Guru Nanak, not Farid nor Ibrahim. The janam-sakhis do, however, attribute the second stanza of the shabad to Nanak (folio 64b) with the result that a single shabad is constituted a dialogue between two participants. The *Purātan* janam-sakhis treat the shabad in the same manner, but represent the interlocutor as Mia Mitha, not Sheikh Braham. *Pur JS*, p. 68.

[263]The *AG* version begins this line with the words : 'As the Lord has ordained...'

[264]*Sirī Rāgu* 33 (a portion of the second stanza and second refrain), *AG* p. 25.

[265]In place of 'the Qur'an and the Kateb' the *AG* version has *pothī purāṇ* : the ancient works, the sacred scriptures, or simply 'the Puranas'. For the [illegible] note 223.

[266]The *AG* text has an extra line : 'And ignite it with apprehension of the Truth'.

[267]*AG* : 'by means of this oil'.

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Baba [Nanak] laughed and said, "Sheikhji, you have obtained the joy [of salvation]."

"Nanakji," said the Sheikh, "come to my home."

"You have not yet seen your home, Sheikhji," replied Baba [Nanak]. "But [fear not, for] you have found salvation."[268]

"Sing me a *vār*,[269] Nanakji," begged the Sheikh. "It is my opinion that without two [persons] a *vār* cannot be sung,
65a and you say that there is but One [God]. Let us see whom you associate with Him."[270]

"Mardana," said Baba [Nanak], "play the rabab." He then sang a stanza in *Āsā* raga.[271]

Thou didst create Thyself and Thou didst spread abroad Thine own Name.
Then Thou didst fashion the universe and abiding therein Thou dost observe with joy [Thy handiwork].
Thou alone art the beneficent Creator; in Thy pleasure Thou dost bestow [goodness] and grace.
All things are known to Thee; having given life and body Thou takest [both] away.
Abiding therein Thou dost observe with joy [Thy handiwork]. 1.

Baba [Nanak] then sang nine [more] stanzas. The Sheikh arose and coming [to Nanak] he rendered homage to him. "Nanakji," he declared, "nothing separates you from God, and you have been gracious towards me."

"Sheikhji," replied Baba [Nanak], "God will bring your journey to a successful ending."

"Give me your word, Nanakji," begged the Sheikh, and

[268]The *Mahimā Prakāś Vāratak* carries this discussion a little further. Before Baba Nanak makes his final declaration of salvation the Sheikh presses him to explain the meaning of 'home' (*ghar*) in this context. In reply Nanak recites the shalok *Vār Malār* 27:1 (*AG* pp. 1290-91), a composition which exalts man's inner 'home', *SLTGN* (*Eng*), pp. 71-72.

[269]The word *vār* is in this context an anachronism, for the *vārs* of the Adi Granth were assembled after the time of Guru Nanak. There are other *vār* forms, but it is clear from the quotation which follows that the janam-sakhi compiler has in mind the Adi Granth form.

[270]The implication is that Nanak will commit *shirk*, that because he is not a Muslim he must *ipso facto* be a polytheist. The stanza which follows is a positive affirmation of the unity of God. Although the author of this portion of the discourse has chosen to set this stanza in the context of the Muslim concept of *shirk* it seems clear that Guru Nanak had in mind the Hindu triad of Brahmā, Visnu the Sustainer, and Siv the Destroyer. All three functions are attributed to the one God.

[271]*Vār Āsā* 1, *AG* p. 463.

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Baba [Nanak] answered, "It is a promise."

65b Guru Baba Nanak then left there and passing by Dipalpur[272] he proceeded on through Kanganpur,[273] Kasur,[274] Tapa,[275] Goindval,[276] Sultanpur,[277] Vairoval[278] and Jalalabad.[279] [Eventually] he reached [the village of] Pathanan di Kiri[280] [where] he made disciples of the Pathans.[281] Continuing on through Vithanda[282] and Saidpur he reached Saroa[283] where he rested. A marriage was being celebrated in a Pathan house and Pathans were dancing.

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi concerning the Emperor Babur.

[272]Montgomery District

[273]A village in Chunia tahsil, Lahore District.

[274]Lahore District.

[275]Not identified. Kahn Singh mentions a village of this name (*MK*, p. 431), but its location in Patiala District suggests that the janam-sakhi narrator must have had a different place in mind. The *Purātan* version gives Patti, a village in the southern part of Amritsar District. *Pur JS*, p. 56. The *Ādi Sākhīs* identifies it more explicitly as Haibatpur Patti. *AS*, p. 52.

[276]Tarn Taran tahsil, Amritsar District. The *Colebrooke* compiler inserts at this point the sakhi "The salvation of the leprous faqir". *Pur JS*, pp. 56-57.

[277]Kapurthala District. See note 72.

[278]Tarn Taran tahsil.

[279]There is a town of this name in Ferozepore District. The itinerary which is being followed by the narrator suggests, however, a village in Amritsar District.

[280]The *Purātan* and *Miharbān* versions call the village Kirian Pathanan. *Pur JS*, p. 57. *Mih JS* 1.516. The *Ādi Sākhīs* compiler omits the reference. Macauliffe gives Amritsar District as the location of the village. Macauliffe i. 108. Kirpal Singh identifies it with Kiri Afghanan in Gurdaspur District. Kirpal Singh, *Janam Sākhī Paramparā* (Patiala, 1969), p. 150.

[281]Or 'he made a Pathan disciple'.

[282]Not identified. The *Purātan* version gives vatala (Batala in Gurdaspur District).

[283]*saidpur vich de saroe jāi nikalīā*. This is a misreading by the *B40* copyist. The *Ādi Sākhīs* analogue has *saidpur saloe val jāi nikale* (*AS*, p. 52), indicating thereby that Saroa (or Saloa) should be attached to Saidpur. The *Miharbān Janam-sākhī* refers to it as Saidpur Saloi (*Mih JS* 1. 463) and in the *Purātan* manuscripts it is variously called Saidpur Sandeali and Saidpur Siriali. (*Pur JS*, p. 58). All versions agree that the anecdote which follows was set in Saidpur.

The village or town of Saidpur was situated eight miles south-east of Gujranwala, close to the spot now occupied by the town of Eminabad. According to the *Gazetteer of the Gujranwala District, 1893-94* Saidpur was destroyed by Sher Shah and replaced by a new town called Shergarh. This was in turn destroyed by Akbar who erected in its place the present town of Eminabad, or Aminabad, one and a half miles north-east of the ruins. (Loc. cit., p. 173. See also *PNQ* II. 13, October 1884, p. 10).

There can be no doubt that the town must have been destroyed prior to the building of Eminabad by Akbar, but it seems much more likely that the destruction was the work of Babur. If in fact Sher Shah did destroy the tow
will almost certainly have been a repetition of an earlier action by Bab
one point at which a measure of trust can be attached to the janam-sakhi report.

(Contd. on next page)

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66a ILLUSTRATION 16

66b [THE SACK OF SAIDPUR][284]

Proceeding there [to Saidpur Baba Nanak] rested [outside the town]. Further on a wedding was [being celebrated] in the house of [some] Pathans, and the Pathans were dancing.[285] With Baba [Nanak] there were some faqirs who were very hungry. He remained [for some time] at that place, but no one paid any heed to him sitting [there]. The faqirs were weak with hunger. Baba [Nanak] arose and taking with him Mardana and the faqirs went [into the town]. There they asked [for food], but at all the houses which they visited their request was ignored. Baba [Nanak]

(Contd.....)

The "Sack of Saidpur" anecdote derives from the *Narrative I* tradition, the earliest all janam-sakhi traditions and one which evidently developed within an area very near Eminabad. See above, Introduction p. 25. Its testimony to the Mughal destruction of Saidpur is supported by a reference in the *Bābur-nāmā* to an attack on the town. *Bābur-Nāmā* I. 429. Acceptance of the janam-sakhi testimony must, however, be limited to the *Narrative I* statement that Babur destroyed Saidpur. The claim that Nanak was present on the occasion of its destruction must be regarded with scepticism, and the description of a meeting between Nanak and Babur is patently a janam-sakhi invention. The claim made by the eighteenth-century *Mahimā Prakāś Vāratak* to the effect that Baba Nanak was responsible for restoring and renaming the town must also be dismissed as legend. *SLTGN (Eng)*, p. 75. Near the present town of Eminabad stands the famous Sikh gurdwara named Rori Sahib. See note 349. The gurdwara was endowed by Ranjit Singh during the early nineteenth century. *MK*, p. 99.

[284]The text bears the heading : *goṣṭ bābur nāl hoī*, "Discourse with Babur". This heading properly belongs to the second part of this composite sakhi and for the English translation has been transferred to the beginning of this second anecdote (folio 65a).

[285]The Pathans, strictly speaking the peoples of the North-West Frontier and Afghanistan, were one of the Ashraf or 'nobility' of Muslim India. The Ashraf comprised the four sections into which Indian Muslims claiming foreign descent were conventionally divided, viz. the Sayyids (descendants of 'Ali,' the son-in-law of the Prophet), the Shaikhs (all other Muslims claiming Arab descent), the Mughals (or Turks), and the Pathans. Although all four designated immigrant and distinctively racial groups, Muslim converts in India commonly claimed membership in one or other of the four sections because of the generally superior social status accorded the Ashraf within the Indian Muslim community. Jaffur Shurreeff, *Qanoon-e-Islam or the Customs of the Mussulmans of India*, trans. G.A. Herklots, 2nd ed. (Madras, 1863), pp. 5-11. M. Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims* (London, 1967), pp. 19-20. In the case of the Pathans the connection with Afghanistan and the Frontier remained dominant and in the janam-sakhis, as in the works of Nanak, the terms is closely connected with the Lodis. Rose defined the term as follows

> The term Pathan is popularly applied to the member[illegible]iling from the north-west frontier borderlands of India. A synonym is the well-known term Rohilla (Rohela, *i.e.* an inhabitant of the *roh* or mountainous country). Another synonym is Afghan... —*GTC* III. 205.

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became exceedingly wrathful. "Mardana," he commanded, "play the rabab!" In anger he sang shabad in *Tilaṅg* raga.[286]

I proclaim the tidings which I have received from the Lord, O beloved.[287]

From Kabul he[288] has descended with sin as his marriage-party and forcibly demanded a dowry, O beloved.

67a Modesty and sacred duty have gone into hiding, and falsehood struts around as lord, O beloved.

The writ of Qazi and Brahman no longer runs; [in their place] Satan it is who reads the marriage-ceremony, O beloved.

In their agony Muslim women read the Qur'an and cry [for help] to God, O beloved.

And Hindu women, both [high] caste and low, they too suffer the same violation, O beloved.

It is a wedding-sound of blood which is sung, Nanak, and blood is the saffron wherewith they are anointed, O beloved. 1.

Tilaṅg[289]

In the city of the dead Nanak praises the Lord, and [to all] he proclaims this belief:

He who created [the world] in [all] its manifestations sits alone observing all.

When the fabric of [our] body is torn to shreds then will Hindustan recall [my] words;

For the Lord is true, [His] justice is true, and true will be His judgement.[290]

[286] *Tilaṅg* 5, *AG* pp. 722-23.

[287] *ve lālo*. The word *lālo*, here translated as a vocative plural, is normally interpreted (in this particular context) as a proper name. This was evidently not the understanding of the *Purātan*, *Miharbān*, *Ādi Sākhīs*, and *B40* compilers, nor of their sources, none of whom makes any reference to a person named Lalo. In the *Bālā* janam-sakhis, however, this shabad has as its setting an anecdote concerning a carpenter of Saidpur who bears this name. *Bala JS*, sakhi 19. See *GNSR*, pp. 86-87; and Gurbachan Singh Talib, *Guru Nanak: His Personality and Vision* (Delhi, 1969), p. 95.

[288] The reference is obviously to Bābur, although he is nowhere named in the shabad. The shabad is one of the four compositions by Nanak collectively designated the *Bābar-vāṇī*, or "Utterances concerning Babur". *GNSR*, p. 135. The designation derives from a reference in the fifth stanza of *Āsā aṣṭ*. 11 (*AG* p. 41

[289] The name of the Raga has evidently been inserted by mistake. T... follows comprises the second of the two stanzas of *Tilaṅg* 5.

[290] In the *AG* version this and the previous line are reversed.

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He will come in seventy-eight and go in ninety-nine; and another disciple of warrior will arise.[291]

It is the truth which Nanak utters, the truth which he will
67b proclaim; for now is the moment of truth ! 2.

Now a certain Brahman heard Baba [Nanak] singing this shabad. [Recognising its import he said to himself], "The faqir has uttered this shabad as a curse !" He filled a basket with fruit, approached Baba [Nanak with his offering], and said, "Sir, grant that this shabad which you have uttered as a curse may be retracted."

"Swami," replied Baba [Nanak], "what is done cannot now be undone. The process is under way. But you have come to me [and so you shall receive mercy].[292] Twelve *kos* from here there is a pool. Take your family and go there. You must not stay here, for if you do remain here you will be killed."

Taking his family the Brahman proceeded [as directed]. Baba [Nanak] also departed. He went out into a wilderness and waited there. And so it happened that when day dawned the Emperor Babur[293] arrived. He fell upon Saidpur destroying the town and the surrounding villages, and
68a slaughtering everyone both Hindu and Muslim. He looted and razed every house, and [then] imprisoned everyone [who had survived]. Such was the destruction wrought by Baba [Nanak's] shabad ! The wrath of an Exalted One (*mahā-purukh*) had fallen upon the Pathans. God accepts the prayers of faqirs because faqirs believe in Him. God hears the utterances of faqirs and knows all that is in the hearts of faqirs.

But who is a [true] faqir ? [True faqirs are those] who ask for nothing, [or] who ask little [for themselves], who are ever faithful and patient, who have bridled their spirits,[294] who are far-seeing, who know God, and who dwell in mercy and love. Such a person is a faqir—but there are others
68b [who are spurious faqirs]. Even house-holders have need of [the true faqir]. If anyone adopts the faqir's dress then regardless of his caste, whether he be Hindu or Muslim,[295] serve him and take no account of his previous deeds. It is a case of doing whatever one is able to do. Let [a man]

[291]For a note on this cryptic line see *GNSR*, p. 137, n. 3.

[292]The *Purātan* version adds *so bakhasiā hain*. *Pur JS*, p. 59.

[293]Mir Babur Patsah.

[294]The *pañjibhū ātmā* or five subtle elements (earth, water, air, fire, and ether). *Śabadārath* p. 299, n.*.

[295]The *Purātan* version adds : 'a thief, an accomplice, or highwayman'. *Pur JS*, p. 59.

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perform whatever service he has the capacity to perform. Otherwise do not speak ill of a faqir. Keep silent.

On the third day Baba [Nanak] returned to Saidpur and entered [it]. When he gazed around at the town he observed that all [its inhabitants] had been killed. "Mardana," said Baba [Nanak], "what has happened ?"

"My Lord," replied Mardana, "that which pleased you has come to pass."

"Play the rabab, Mardana," said Baba [Nanak]. Mardana played [the measure] *Āsā* raga on the rabab and Baba [Nanak] sang [this] shabad[296] :

69a *Āsā*

Where [now] is the clash of arms, where the stable of horses, where the war-drum and fife ?
Where are the sword-belts, [where] the chariots, where the red Uniforms [of the soldiers] ?
Where are the mirrors [and where] the beautiful faces [which they reflected] ? Here are none of these to be seen. 1.

This world is Thine and Thou art its Master.
Within a brief span[297] Thou dost [both] build up and cast down, and the wealth which Thou dost distribute to brothers [causes them to war one with the other].
Refrain

Where are the houses, mansions, and palaces; where are the splendid hostelries ?
Where are the soft beds and where the bewitching women ? Here are none of these to be seen.[298]
Where is the betal leaf, where its vendors, and where the occupants of the harems ? Like spectres [all] have fled. 2.

Because of this wealth many have been made wretched; because of these riches many have been ruined.
For they did not acquire [their wealth] without sin [and now that they are] dead it cannot accompany them.
If Thou dost choose to ruin a man, O Creator, first Thou dost destroy his goodness. 3.

69b Thousands of pirs tried to stop Mir [Babur by means of magic] when they heard of his invasion.

[296] *Āsā aṣṭ* 12, *AG* pp. 417-18.
[297] *ghari* : 24 minutes.
[298] In place of the second sentence the *AG* version adds to the first the words : 'who, when one sees them, cause sleep to flee.'

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Resting-places were burnt, rock-like temples [were destroyed], princes were hacked into pieces and trampled in the dust.
[In spite of the pirs' efforts] no Mughal was blinded. None of the spells had any effect. 4.

Mughals and Pathans fought each other, wielding swords on the battlefield.
One side took aim and fired guns, the other urged on [its] elephants.
They whose letters were torn in [God's] court had to die. 5.

Hindu, Muslim, Bhatt, and Thakur women [suffered].
Some having their *burqās* torn from head to toe, others being slain.
They whose handsome husbands failed to return home, how did they pass the night ! 6.

Who can explain [all this to us, for] Thou, O Creator, art the Doer and the Cause of all.
[All pain and joy come at Thy favour; to whom then can we cry ?][299]
[Thou] the Orderer hast instituted the Order[300] [of the universe and surveying it] Thou art pleased while we, Nanak, receive what is inscribed [in our destiny]. 7.

70a And so all the Pathans there were slain. The female prisoners of the Pathans[301] were carried off. The rule of Mir Babur prevailed. Hindustan was seized and joined to Khurasan.[302]

[A DISCOURSE WITH BABUR]

Baba [Nanak] then proceeded to the army encampment and entered it. Now Mir Babur was a Qalandar.[303] During the day he performed his royal duties, but at night he cast the fetters from off his feet, bowed his head, and worshipped God. When day dawned he would recite the *namāz*, read the thirty sections (*sipāre*) of the Qur'an,[304] and after this

[299]This second line of stanza 7 has been omitted in the *B40* version.
[300]*hukam*.
[301]Presumably slaves.
[302]The territory between the Aral Sea and the Hindu Kush, now covered by the Soviet republics of Turkmeniya and Uzbekistan, and by the northern frontiers of Afghanistan.
[303]A Sufi religious order. *Enc Isl* II. 676.
[304]The complete Qur'an.

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eat bhang.[306] Baba [Nanak] entered the army encampment and began to sing a shabad. Nearby were the prisoners and when he looked at them he observed how dreadfully miser-
70b able they were "Mardana," he said, "play the rabab." He then sang a shabad in [the measure] *Tilang* raga.[306]

What [merit] didst Thou see in Khurasan [that Thou shouldst spare it and instead] spread terror in Hindustan ?[307]
O Creator, [Thou didst this, but] to avoid the blame Thou didst send the Mughal as [the messenger of] Death.
Receiving such chastisement [the people] cry out [in agony and yet] no anguish touches [Thee]. 1.

Thou, O Creator, art [the Lord] of all.
If the powerful is stricken[308] the heart does not grieve. *Refrain*

But if a mightly lion falls on a [defenceless] flock one must ask the Master [why he failed to protect it].
The jewel [which is Hindustan] has been shattered; the vast wealth [which its rulers amassed] cannot accompany them when Fate [carries them off].[309]
[Thou dost unite and Thou dost divide; thus is Thy glory manifested.][310] 2.

If anyone acquires worldly prestige, parades [his magnificence] and indulges himself,[311]
He becomes as a worm in the sight of the Master, regardless of how much corn he pecks up.
Slaying [the self] while yet alive Nanak obtains [the merit of] the divine Name.[312] 3.

71a When Mir Babur heard this shabad he exclaimed "Friends, fetch [that] faqir." [Some] men went and brought Baba [Nanak] into his presence and Babur said, "Faqir, repeat what you just sang." When Baba [Nanak] repeated the

[305]Cannabis.
[306]*Āsā* 39, *AG* p. 360 (mistakenly labelled *Tilang* by the compiler). For a note on the intention of this shabad see *GNSR*, p. 136, n. 2.
[307]The *AG* version begins : 'Thou didst spare Khurasan and spread fear in Hindustan.'
[308]The *AG* version adds : 'by a powerful man.'
[309]In the *AG* version this line reads : 'The jewel [which is Hindustan] has been shattered by [the Afghan] dogs and none shall remember them when they have gone.'
[310]The last line of the second stanza has been omitted in the *B40* version.
[311]*AG* : 'If anyone assumes an exalted name and indulges in whatever his mind desires.'
[312]*AG* : 'Die [to self] and you shall truly live. Repeat the Name an[illegible] a portion.'

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shabad the portals of Babur's [understanding] opened. "Friends," he declared, "this is a noble faqir !"

He then opened his bhang pouch and offered it to Baba [Nanak], saying, "Have some bhang, Faqir."

"Mirji," replied Baba [Nanak], "I have [already] eaten bhang. I have taken a kind of bhang which induces a condition of permanent intoxication."

"Mardana, Baba [Nanak] continued, "play the rabab," He then sang a shabad in [the measure] *Tilang* raga.[313]

Fear of Thee, [O Lord], is [my] bhang and my mind the pouch [in which I carry it].
Intoxicated [which this bhang] I have abandoned all interest in worldly concerns.
71b My hands [raised in supplication] are my [begging-] bowl and that for which I hunger is a vision of Thee.
At thy door I beg eternally. 1.
Grant that I may blend [in mystical union] with Thy vision.
At Thy door I beg; grant that for which I ask. *Refrain*

With saffron, flowers, musk, and gold,
All [vainly adorn] their bodies.
The light diffused by the true worshippers of God (*bhagat*)
Like the fragrance of the sandal spreads to all around it. 2.

No one questions [the origins of] the container [holding] *ghī* or silk.
In like manner a *bhagat* [deserves respect] regardless of what his caste may be.
They who have humbly submitted to Thy Name, [thereby] attaining that [mystical] union [with Thee].
At their door Nanak receives the [blessing] which he seeks. 3.

When Baba [Nanak] recited this shabad Mir Babur was highly delighted. "Faqir !" he said, "accompany me." Baba [Nanak] replied, "Stay for three days." Babur [agreed] saying, "Very well, I shall stay."[314]

[313] *Tilang* 2, *AG* p. 721.

[314] The *B40* text is evidently corrupt at this point. The *Hāfizābād* version reads, in translation :

When Baba [Nanak] recited this shabad Mir Babur was highly delighted. "Faqir !" he said, "accompany me." Baba [Nanak] replied, 'I am with you for one day." Babur begged him, "Stay for three days." Baba [Nanak] answered, "I shall stay." —*Pur JS*, p. 66n.

The *Ādi Sākhīs* version adds : 'And so Baba [Nanak] stayed for three days.' *AS*, p. 56.

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Baba [Nanak then] looked at the prisoners [again] and was much grieved [to observe their misery]. "Mardana,"
72a he said, "play the rabab." Mardana played the rabab and Baba [Nanak] sang a shabad in *Āsā* raga.[315]

Rāg Āsā

They who had heads of lustrous hair with vermilion adorning the parting,
Clipped are they with shears, and chains have been shackled to their necks.[316]
They who dwelt in palaces now, in the presence [of their conquerors], find no place to rest. 1.

Hail [to Thee] O Lord, [all] hail !
Thou, the Primal One, art infinite, manifest in a multitude of forms. *Refrain*

When they were wed they sat with their radiant bridegrooms,
And with ivory [bangles] adorning [their arms] were carried off in palanquins.
[Vessels of] water were waved around their heads; [in their hands they clasped] glittering fans. 2.

While sitting they received a hundred thousand [coins] and a hundred thousand they received while standing.
They fed upon nuts and dates, and submitted to [their bridal-] beds.
72b [And now] their necks are roped, their necklaces of pearls scattered. 3.

The wealth and sensual beauty which had intoxicated them became their enemies.
To the messengers [of Death] the command was given to strip them of their honour and carry them off.
If it seems good to Thee Thou givest glory and if it pleases Thee Thou givest punishment. 4.

Had they paused to think in time, then would they have received the punishment ?
But the rulers paid no heed, passing their time instead in revelry;

[315] *Āsā aṣṭ* 11, *AG* p. 417. The *Purātan* janam-sakhis introduce this shabad in the context of a brief period of forced labour which Baba Nanak and said to have undergone while prisoners. *Pur JS*, p. 62.
[316] *AG* : 'their throats have been choked with dust.'

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And now that Babur's authority has been established everyone starves.[317] 5.

One has been deprived of his time [of prayer][318] and the other of his worship.[319]

Hindu women can no longer bathe, apply their *tilak*, or plaster their cooking-square.[320]

They who neglected the remembrance of Ram now have no opportunity to call [even] upon Khuda.[321] 6.

If anyone [surviving the battle] should return to his home another, mocking him,[322] will ask after his comfort.

And for another [Fate] decrees that he should sit and wail in anguish.

That which He wills comes to pass; [before Him], Nanak, what is there a man can do ? 7.

Having uttered this shabad Baba [Nanak] passed into a
73a(1) trance, fell [to the ground], and lay [there]. Babur came and, standing over him, asked, "What has happened to the faqir ?"

"Sir, the faqir is in agony," answered the people "Seeing the wrath of God he has fallen into a trance."

"Pray to God that the faqir may arise, friends," commanded Babur.

Baba [Nanak] then sat up, and as he did so there blazed forth a radiance as if a thousand suns had risen. Babur made salaam to him and cried, "Have mercy !"

"Mirji," replied Baba [Nanak], "if you desire mercy then release the prisoners."

"May I make one request ?" asked Babur.

"Speak," answered Baba [Nanak].

"Promise me one thing and I shall release [them]."

"Make your request," Baba [Nanak] said to him.

73b (1) "This I ask," said Babur, "that my kingdom may endure from generation to generation."

"Your kingdom will endure for a time," replied Baba [Nanak].

Having clothed the prisoners Babur released them and Baba [Nanak] rejoiced. He took leave of Babur [and went

[317]*AG* : 'the princes starve'. The reference is evidently to the Lodhi rulers. *GNSR*, p. 136.

[318]The Muslim.

[319]The Hindu.

[320]The reference is to their inability to fulfil the requireme y.

[321]They neglected their one essential religious duty as Hind en if they should choose to follow the Muslim way of their conquerors, they are given no opportunity to do so.

[322]*AG* : 'meeting him'.

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on his way]. Crossing the Ravi and Chenab [rivers][323] he made his way through the Punjab inspecting jungles in search of a suitable place to stay [for a time]. Travelling on [he reached] a spot beside a river,[324] [and there he stayed]. Crowds[325] of people flocked there. All who heard [that he was there] came [for *darsan*]. "A [true] faqir of God has been born," they declared. "His name is Nanak and he is absorbed[326] in his God." Many people gathered [there and] became disciples. All who came were delighted. Whenever Baba [Nanak] composed a shalok it was circulated
73a(2) around. He composed shaloks and faqirs [who were with him] sang [devotional] songs.[327] [One such shalok was the following :]

The false, O Nanak, are overthrown, and only the true endure.[328]

In Nanak's house [the truth concerning] the one divine Name was expounded. His praises resounded and enormous crowds came [to him]. Hindus, Muslims, yogis, sanyasis.[329] brahamacharis,[330] ascetics and master ascetics Digambars[331]

[323]Saidpur, the place which Baba Nanak has just left, is actually between the two rivers.

[324]The *Hāfizābād* MS adds 'near Talvandi'. *Pur JS*, p. 73. The *Ādi Sākhīs* version names the river as the Ravi. *AS*, p. 57. The *Miharbān Janam-sākhī* is even more specific.

Then when Guru Baba Nanak saw the area around Pakho it seemed to him a desirable place to settle...And so the Guru settled on the banks of the Ravi.
—*Mih JS* 1. 516.

Pakho (also called Pakho da Randhava, Pakho di Randhavi, and Pakhoke) is on the left bank of the Ravi, six miles upstream from the present town of Dehra Baba Nanak. See note 339.

[325]*gaugā* : tumult, commotion, uproar.

[326]*ratā hoṇā* : to be immersed in, steeped in, dyed with, imbued with. The sentence could be paraphrased : "His being is absorbed in the being of God."

[327]*kāfī*. The *Hāfizābād* version has *kāniā*, reed or wind instruments. *Pur JS*, p. 73. The *Ādi Sākhīs* text, which also has *kāne*, adds that the faqirs would 'whirl round' (*phirāde hain*). *AS*, p. 58.

[328]*Vār Rāmkalī* (*Mahala 3*) 13:2, *AG* p. 953 (last line only).

[329]Strictly those who have achieved *sanyās*, total renunciation of all wordly ties, but as Ibbetson has pointed out its usage may be more restricted and more specific.

The word Sanyasi really means nothing more than the ascetic stage through which every Brahman should properly pass. But as commonly used it corresponds among the followers of Siva with Bairagi among the followers of Vishnu, and is as indefinite in its meaning. It is indeed specially applied to the Tridandi Ramaniyas, a Vaisnava sect; but it is also used to include all Saiva classes of ascetics except perhaps the Jogi. In the Panjab the word is commonly used to denote the followers of Shankar Acharj, and would include the Gosains.
—D. Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes* (Lahore, 1916), p. 227.

[330]Those who observe *brahamachārya* (celibacy). In a strict sense the word is applied to those who are at the first *āśram* or 'stage' of life. In the janam-sa
it is used in a loose sense to designate anyone who practises celibacy.

[331]Jains of the Digambar ('space-clad', i.e. naked) sect.

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and Vaisnavas, celibates and householders,[332] bairagis,[333] khans,[334] gentry, officials, landowners, proprietors of estates—everyone who came was captivated and all extolled [his greatness.]

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows : A discourse held with a karori.

73b(2) **ILLUSTRATION 17**

74a **A PROUD KARORI HUMBLED : THE FOUNDING OF KARTAPUR[335]**

Now a certain karori[336] resided near the village where Baba [Nanak] was living. [One day] he asked, "Who is this fellow whose name everyone mentions ? Not only has he corrupted the Hindus but even the Muslims have abandoned

[332]*udāsī*, a celibate ascetic, is contrasted with *grahastī*, the 'householder' or married man. For the Udasi sect of Sikh ascetics see note 408.

[333]Strictly those who have attained *bairāg (vairāg)*, freedom from worldly desires, but like *sanyāsī* used in a more restricted sense.

Bairagi, or as it is more correctly spelled Vairagi, signifies anyone devoid of passion. But the word is usually applied in the Panjab to a regular order of Vaisnava devotees, said to have been founded by Sri Anand, the 12th disciple of Ramanand...They are for the most part collected in monasteries and are exceedingly respectable class of *faqīrs*, but many of the wandering mendicants also call themselves Bairagis. Their distinctive mark is a string of brown crinkled beads. —Ibbetson, op. cit., p. 227.

Cf. *B40* folio 81a, where plainly the term is not intended to designate a particular sect. The title Bairagi is also used by the Kanphat order claiming descent from Raja Bhartrhari of Ujjain. G.W. Briggs, *Gorakhnāth and the Kānphaṭa Yogīs* (Calcutta, 1938), p. 65.

[334]'Master', a title designating a Muslim notable, normally of Mughal or Pathan descent.

[335]This anecdote, which the *B40* compiler has taken from his *Q1* source, has several features in common with an anecdote concerning Sheikh Sharaf al-Din Ahmad b. Yahya of Maner related in the *Manāqib al-asfiyyā'* of Sheikh Shu'ayb. Simon Digby, unpub. paper "Encounters with Jogis in Indian Sufi Hagiography", University of London School of Oriental and African Studies, 27th January, 1970.

[336]During the nineteenth year of his reign Akbar instituted a radical change in the imperial system of revenue collection. The empire was divided into districts, each of which was expected to yield a *karor* of *tankas*. (1 *karor*, or crore—10 million). Each district was placed under a collector who came to be known as a *karorī*. The experiment was a failure, but even after it had been terminated the *'āmil* or *'āmalguzār* responsible for a *pargana* or group of *parganas* continued to be known as a *karorī*. During the seventeenth century his status declined still further to that of a subordinate collector under an *amin faujdār*. [illegible] *Agrarian System of Mughal India* (London, 1963), pp. 275-77. [illegible] nd J. S. Grewal, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar* (Simla, 1967), p. 68, n. 13. Janam-sakhi references to *karorīs* are, of course, anachronisms. The singular form used in the janam-sakhis is *karorīā*.

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their faith. What kind of faith do these Muslims have that they put their trust in a Hindu ! Come, let us bind him and bring him here "

Having made up this mind [to do this] the karori set off. "I shall go and bring that Hindu back bound," [he declared]. When he mounted his horse, however, it shivered under him and refused to move that day. Next day he mounted [again], but as he proceeded on his way he was struck blind. He stopped, unable to see a thing.

74b The people [who observed his plight] said, "Sir, we are afraid and can say nothing, save that Nanak is a great pir. You should show reverence to him." The karori began to praise Nanak and the people who were [standing] nearby also began to bow in the direction of Baba [Nanak's residence]. "Nanak is a great man," declared the karori.

He remounted but immediately tumbled off the horse, unable to see anything. "Diwanji[337] ?" protested the people, "you are forgetting ! You are proceeding on horseback. Nanak is a great pir. [Only] if you go on foot will you receive blessing."

The karori proceeded on foot and at the place where Baba [Nanak's] abode[338] came into view he stood and did homage. When he drew near he fell at Baba [Nanak's] feet.

75a Baba [Nanak] was filled with joy. For three days Baba [Nanak] detained him and showed much favour [towards him. Before leaving] the karori made a request. "Babaji, if you grant permission I shall build a village[339] in your name and shall call it Kartarpur. Whatever produce

[337]Lit. chief minister, finance minister, or minister of state. Here it is used as a title of respect for a government official of high rank.

[338]Lit. 'court'.

[339]*chak*: a Mughal administrative term which in its strict sense designates an area of land bestowed upon an individual or institution by a *madad-i ma'ash* grant. H.H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* (London, 1855), p. 97. Irfan Habib, op. cit., p. 301. B. N. Goswamy and J. S Grewal, op. cit., p. 88, n. 9. Whereas the noun *chak* implies a donation of land, the verb (*bānāvā*, from *banāuṇā*, 'to construct') suggests that the karori was erecting a village in which Baba Nanak might reside, without necessarily bequeathing it to him as a gift. If for *karori* we read simply 'administrator' or 'wealthy disciple' either would be possible (provided that the gift was made from private property). An outright gift appears to be unlikely in the case of Kartarpur, but may perhaps apply to the Bedi estates on the opposite side of the river. The land held by the Bedi descendants of Nanak is on the left bank of the Ravi, whereas the villa[illegible] is on the right bank. (The estate is thus in India; the village in P[illegible] left-bank land may have been donated to Nanak by a wealthy disciple ; it may have been given to him by his father-in-law (Mula Chona, his wife's father, is said

(Contd. on next page)

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is grown will be contributed to the dharamsala."[340] The karori then took leave.[341]

Later Kalu heard that Nanak had built a village and settled down. Taking his family with him Kalu came [to the village] and all were filled with joy. Labour, oblation, and worship [constituted the three-fold pattern which] was practised [in Kartarpur]. Baba [Nanak's] seat[342] was set apart under a pippli tree.[343] A long time passed [during which] a large group of disciples[344] gathered [around him]. Wherever he resided Mardana also stayed.

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows: Babaji commenced a course of austerities.

75b

ILLUSTRATION 18

76a

[BABA NANAK'S AUSTERITIES]

Baba [Nanak] commenced a course of austerities.[345] He

(Contd.....)
to have originally come from Pakho, the village within the Bedi property on the left bank); or it may have been bestowed upon his Bedi descendants by a later land-owner or by an eighteenth-century Sikh chief. The grant, however made, was confirmed by the British. In the revenue records Pakho is used as an alternative name for Dehra Baba Nanak. I owe this information and the suggestions noted above to Professor J.S. Grewal. For Pakho see note 324.

[340]*dharam-sālā, dharm-śālā* : 'house of *dharma*'. The janam-sakhis, in common with other early Sikh literature, use the term *dharam-sālā* to designate a room or building used for worship, congregational assembly, discourse (*kathā*), the singing of devotional songs (*kīrtan*), or any other religious purpose. Subsequently it was superseded by the word *guruduārā* ('the door of the Guru', spelt 'gurdwara' in its anglicized form) and restricted instead to the hospice which is normally attached to a gurdwara. Both terms are used in the wider sense by Bhai Gurdas. (*BG* I. 27, III. 8, IX. 14 for the former ; and for the latter XXVIII. 7 and *Kabbit* 544.) It is, however, obvious that his strong preference is for *dharam-sālā* and its supersession must accordingly have taken place during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The change in terminology may perhaps be linked with the practice of installing a copy of the sacred scripture (the Guru Granth Sahib) in the building used for religious assembly. For examples of the usage of *dharam-sālā* by Guru Arjan and Bhai Gurdas see Kahn Singh Nabha (ed.), *Gurumat Mārtaṇd*, vol. 2 (Amritsar, 1962), pp. 604-6.

[341]The *Hāfizābād* version of the sakhi terminates at this point. M.A. Macauliffe (ed.), *Janam Sakhī Bābe Nānak Jī kī* (Rawalpindi, 1855), p. 186.

[342]*mañjī* : a small string bed upon which the user sits cross-legged. The word commonly indicates a seat of authority and in this instance obviously designates a seat of spiritual authority.

[343]The *pipplī* has a smaller leaf than the more famous *pīpal* (*Ficus religiosa*). In a later context Baba Nanak's tree is said to have been a *pīpal*

[344]*saṅgat*, congregation.

[345]*tap* (*tapas, tapasyā*) : lit. 'heat' ; self-mortification ; an ascetic discipline, or a devotional discipline associated with a pattern of austerities. See M. Eliade, *Yoga : Immortality and Freedom* (London, 1958), pp. 106-11.

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heaped up two mounds, two *kos* apart,[346] [and so] provided [himself with] two markers. At one end [of the line between his two markers] he began to repeat[347] [the name of God]. Continuing to recite [in this manner] he proceeded to the other end [where] he prostrated himself and then returned to the end from which he had begun. This discipline he repeated every day for a number of years. His [daily] food consisted of an ak pod[348] and a handful of sand. For several years he ate only this food and so performed the course of austerities.[349]

Then there came the word of God : "Nanak, your austerities have earned my approval. [And now] this is [my] command to you, that you should take a guru. Without a guru all effort is in vain.

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows : A visit to the pilgrimage-centres (*tirath*).

[BABA NANAK'S VISIT TO THE PILGRIMAGE-CENTRES]

76b Baba [Nanak] ji set off [to visit] the pilgrimage-centres[350] When he received the command to take a guru he reflected, "Godly men[351] of great piety congregate at centres of pilgrimage. Perhaps I shall there find one such sadhu whom I can take as [my] guru."

And so Baba [Nanak] ji set off for the pilgrimage-centres

[346]Although the *kos* varies in length from one to two miles, it has generally been computed in the Punjab as the equivalent of one and a half miles. This would mean that the janam-sakhi compiler probably had in mind a total distance of three miles.

[347]*jap parhṇā :* to repeat continuously a sacred word, *mantra*, or prayer. The reference in this instance may perhaps be to a recitation of Guru Nanak's own composition the *Japjī Sāhib*, but in the context of an ascetic discipline such as the narrator purports to describe the repetition of a word or *mantra* seems more appropriate.

[348]*ak*, or *ark* : the shrub *Calatropis gigantea* which grows profusely in sandy areas of the Punjab. Its seeds are poisonous.

[349]This tradition concerning a period of austerities has in more recent times come to be associated with the locality now marked by Gurdwara Rori Sahib, near Eminabad in Gujranwala District. *MK*, pp. 99, 787. The name of the gurdwara derives from Bhai Gurdas's single-line version of the tradition :

ret ak āhār karī rorān kī gur karī vichhāī
The Guru's food was sand and the pod of the *ak*, and his bed he spread on stones. —*BG* I. 24.

The *Miharbān Janam-sākhī* claims that the austerities were performed 'in the east country'. *Mih JS* I. 111.

[350]*tirath* : lit. a ford in a river ; a place of pilgrimage, normally located on a river-bank.

[351]*atīt* : strictly ascetics or renunciants, but commonly used as synoi
bhagat.

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First he visited the Ganga.[352] Many people had come to the Ganga to bathe. Baba [Nanak] ji also went [there] and sitting down [beside the river] he looked [around]. "Perhaps I shall see someone who is near to God," [he thought]. Many people had come to bathe. Baba [Nanak] also went [there] and sat [beside the river]. He observed that tens of thousands of people were bathing. Having taken their dip they offered water to their forefathers, although [in reality] none [of their fore fathers] was [thereby] cleansed. Baba [Nanak] ji possessed divine knowledge, [whereas] the people had [only] a mundane understanding. They believed that purity comes from bathing, and so they bathed. According to Baba
77a [Nanak's] understanding, however it had no [inner] effect.

Baba [Nanak] ji also entered [the water] to bathe. The people were worshipping with their faces towards the direction of the rising [sun], but Baba [Nanak] began to bathe facing the direction of the setting [sun]. Other people were casting water towards the [rising] sun. Baba [Nanak] began to throw water in the direction of the [sun's] setting. [Observing this the surprised] people asked him, "Are you a Hindu, Friend, or a Muslim ?"[353]

"I am a Hindu," answered Baba [Nanak].

"But if you are a Hindu," they protested, "to whom are you casting water from here ?"

"To whom are *you* casting water ?" countered Baba [Nanak].

"We are casting water to our forefathers," they replied.

"Where are your forefathers ?" asked Baba [Nanak].

"Our forefathers are in heaven,"[354] they answered.

"How far is heaven from here ?" Baba [Nanak] persisted.

"Heaven is forty-nine and a half crores[355] from here,"
77b they replied. "The location of the land of departed souls is there, and that is where we are throwing water."

"Will it get there ?" asked Baba [Nanak], and they answered, "It will get [there].

When they said this Baba [Nanak] ji cast a little water

[352]Later tradition has assumed that the actual location must have been Hardwar. The text, however, makes no mention of it. Cf also *AS*, p. 23 ; and *Mih JS* I. 116.

[353]The direction of the setting sun is also the direction of Mecca and accordingly of the *qibla*.

[354]*dev lok* : 'the realm of the gods', paradise.

[355]The unit of measurement is not given in the *B40* text, nor in the *Adi Sākhīs* and *Mtharbān* analogues (*AS*, p. 24. *Mih JS* I.118), but it was proba a *yojan*. One *yojan* (or *jojan* is the equivalent of four *Kos*, which means that in Punjab usage it would probably have measured six or seven miles. One crore =10,000,000.

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forward and then began to toss large quantities of it.

"To whom are you throwing water ?" they asked. "And so much water !"

"At home I have a field,"[356] replied Guru Baba [Nanak], "and the unripe crop [standing in it] is withering. I am watering that field. Rain is falling in torrents, but the rainwater will not stay on the field. And so I am watering that field."

"But Master,"[357] they protested, "how can the water reach your field ? Whatever are you doing throwing water in this manner ?"

79a "My friends," said Baba [Nanak] ji, "If water will not reach my field [from here] then how can it reach your forefathers ? Your forefathers are away up in heaven ! How can the water get there ?"

When Baba [Nanak] said this they exclaimed, "Brothers, this is no ordinary person.[358] This is one of exalted understanding (*mahā-purukh*).[359] "All began to pay homage [to him] and having emerged from the water they began to repeat [the Gayatri],[360] "Alas ! Alas !" said Baba [Nanak], "These Hindus are going to hell."[361]

"Sir," they expostulated, "is [a person] who takes a holy bath to be consigned to hell ?"

"If he takes the holy Name then how can he go to hell ?" asked Baba [Nanak, and] they replied, "Sir, in what manner should we take the holy Name ?"

79b "How do you take [it] ?" repeated Baba [Nanak and then to one he said], "If in your imagination you have gone to Kabul to sell oil how can you contemplate the divine Name ?"[362] To another he said, "In spirit you were

[356]The *Miharbān* version reads : 'My home is near Lahore and there is a field [there].' *Mih JS* I. 118.

[357]*day de savāṛia* : One who magnifies the greatness of the god.

[358]*kamīnā* : mean, low-born person.

[359]*maha-purakh* : a person of exalted insight ; one possessing divine wisdom.

[360]Whereas the *B40* and *Ādi Sākhīs* texts do not indicate what was repeated (*uha lage simarani karani, AS* p. 24.), the *Miharbān* version claims that the people who emerged from the water recited the Gayatri. *Mih JS* I. 118. Although this certainly represents a later addition to the tradition it does make sense in the light of Baba Nanak's subsequent remarks.

[361]The *B40* text has *ik hindū narak jāde hain*, lit. 'One Hindu are going to hell'. *The* numeral *ik* should evidently read *ih*, which may be translated 'these'. The *Ādi Sākhīs* has neither *ik* nor *ih*, and the *Miharbān* version makes no reference at all to Hindu. *AS*, p. 24. *Mih JS* I. 118.

[362]Baba Nanak, having read the minds of various pilgrims, is revealing the thoughts which they were actually thinking while sanctimoniously taking their holy

The word translated here as 'divine Name' is a pun. *nāu laṇā* can mean either 'to take the divine Name' or 'to take a bath'.

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sitting at home talking to your wife." And to another he said, "You had, [in your imagination], gone off to such and such a place. The name on which you were meditating was the name of that place, [not the divine Name].

"What you say [is true] !" they confessed to him, [and to each other they said], "This is God ! We are all astray. This is our Guru." All who had worshipped by telling rosaries threw them away, and fell at his feet. "You are God !" they declared. "Draw us to your feet ! Make us your disciples."

"I have not yet become a disciple myself," answered Baba
80a [Nanak, so] whose guru can I be ?"

"We cannot do without you," they insisted. "Command us as you please. You are our Guru." They fell at Guru Baba [Nanak's] feet and he blessed them.

In the meantime food had been prepared and they said, "Arise, sir, and eat."

"I do not take food," replied Baba [Nanak], but they pressed [him]. "For the sake of God let food be brought."

Hearing the Name of God Baba [Nanak] ji stood up, went, [to the food], and sat down to eat. At the place where the food was prepared] they had drawn lines to mark off a cooking-square. "The cooking-square is defiled," said Guru Baba [Nanak], "so why have you marked out lines ?"

"Sir, they replied, "we had the food prepared in our presence. The cooking-square was not defiled."

80b "It remained undefiled only as long as you did not enter it," said Baba [Nanak]. "Low [castes] entered it with you and so it was defiled."

"But sir," they protested, "we could be seen [and it must have been clear that no one entered with us]."

[In reply] Baba [Nanak] recited a shalok.

Shalok[363]

Your evil mind is a Domani, your cruelty a Kasaini, your malicious tongue a Chuhari, your anger a Chandalari,[364] and all have led you astray.

[363]*Vār Sirī Rāgu* 20 : 1, *AG* p. 91.

[364]The female members of four outcaste groups : Dom, Kasai, Chuhara, and Chandal. The Domani evidently refers to the caste of sweepers and corps-burners which has been regarded as the type of all uncleanness. D. Ibbetson, *Panjāb Castes* (Lahore, 1916), n. 654, pp. 333-34. The Mirasi caste of Musli[d] musicians, to which Mardana belonged, are also called Dom[s], but the reference will not be to this group, for it possesses an appreciably higher status than that of the sweeper Doms. Ibbetson, op. cit., pp. 234-35. *GNSR*, p. 209.

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Why mark off a cooking-square when the four [outcastes] already keep you company ?

"When these [companions] entered the cooking-square it was defiled," explained Baba [Nanak].

"How [then] can purity be preserved ?" they asked, [and in reply] Baba [Nanak] recited [the remainder of the] shalok.

Shalok[365]

Let Truth be your manner [of drawing a cooking-square] and righteous deeds your lines. Let repeating of the divine Name be your ritual ablution.

At [God's] gate, Nanak, the one who will be called exalted is he who has not taught sinful ways.[366]

"Friends," declared Baba [Nanak] ji, "it is by this means that a cooking-square is purified."[367]

81a [Hearing this] they at once [abandoned their] repeating [of *mantras*], cast away [their] garlands, and fell at Baba [Nanak's] feet. "Do with us as you choose !" they cried. "we have sold ourselves into your hands. Work our salvation in whatever way you desire."

[And so] the Guru gathered them to his feet. They gave away all their possessions—and they had many possessions. Horses, carriages, tents, travel equipment – they gave away everything and stood [before him] as men devoid of all worldly attachments [*bairāgī*]. Such was the favour shown to them by Baba [Nanak] ji that they became intoxicated with the divine Name of God. These were the first disciples *(sikh)* taken by Baba [Nanak]. Having given them his blessing he went on his way singing an *aṣṭapadī* in [the measure] *Tilang* raga.[368]

Rāg Tilang

Wondrous is the Kingdom of Poverty,[369] [the domain] wherein there are no pretensions [to greatness] !

81b In the heart [of a faqir] there dwells a longing for the Lord and indifference to all else. *Refrain*

[365]*Vār Sirī Rāgu* 20 :1 (second couplet), *AG* p. 91.

[366]*AG* : 'Nanak, hereafter the one who will be exalted is the one who has not taught sinful ways.'

[367]Lit. 'rendered true'.

[368]This *aṣṭapadī* is not in the Adi Granth. It is distinguished by an unusually hi proportion of Persian words and phrases.

[369]*fakar (faqr)* : ascetic mortification ; the vocation of a *faqīr*.

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In that domain greed and self-conceit are crushed ; perfect peace reigns eternally.
Four lamps and two hearts are blended ;[370] within all there abides the divine Presence. 1.

The way of Poverty leads to the entrance of that realm, [to the mansion] wherein the All-Merciful dwells.
Nine realms there are and the highest is Heaven ; therein stands the Throne of Light. 2.

There [in Heaven] what value can there be in holding sovereignty over the two worlds ?
All who have trodden the path tell me that in dying [to self] while yet alive [in this body] one attains [to that realm above]. 3.

Happy is the man who reaches the Kingdom of Poverty ; they who have gone there know.
Violence and bloodshed have no being in that country ; all walk according to one universal law [of peace]. 4.

The way of Poverty is a flight from all anxiety ; in all [can be seen the presence of] the Creator Lord.
Entering the Abode of Benevolence [the faqir] meets [his Lord], there where none else [but the Lord] can be found. 5.

Both exploitation[371] and greed are drowned in the River [of Love].
82a [Behold] the wonder of the river's wave [swallowed up] in the River itself.[372] 6.

Thou art the world and Thou art all that exists therein ; nothing but Thee do I see.
[Men may call me] strange, foolish, insane, [but] I have seen the Invisible. 7.

In the House of Allah I go to meet the True One ; how can I praise any other there ?
Nanak declares, I have met the True Guru ! [Before Him] I bow and humble myself. 8.1.

[And so] Baba [Nanak] visited [that] pilgrimage-centre. Baba [Nanak] ji then moved on to other centres of pilgrimage. He visited the Ganga, the Gomti, the Godavari,

[370]The two eyes and the heart of the faqir merge with the eyes and heart of God.
[371]*lahū*, 'blood', the symbol of exploitation and oppression, a , the symbol of benevolence. The two symbols, are used in the .... story of Lalo and Bhago. *GNSR*, p. 86.
[372]The mystical union of the faqir's soul with God.

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Gaya, Prayag,[373] Banaras, Ayodhya, Dvaraka, Jagannath [Puri in] Orissa—all of the sixty-eight pilgrimage-centres. He gained the merit of [visiting] them all, and he bathed at all of them. He saw every area [associated with a centre of pilgrimage], but he neither saw nor met a perfected guru [absorbed] in meditation. Baba [Nanak] ji then proceeded to a region beside the sea.

82b The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows : Baba [Nanak] ji visited the land ruled by women.

ILLUSTRATION 19

83a [THE COUNTRY RULED BY WOMEN]

Baba [Nanak] ji came to a land beside the sea where no man was to be found. Women rule [there and throughout] the country, in all villages, women receive the earnings, not the men.[374]

"Babaji, let us see this country," suggested Mardana.

"This is a land of women," replied [Baba Nanak]. "It would be unwise to proceed on into this country."

"Now that we have come [so far] let us see it," persisted Mardana. "Who [else] comes so far ?"

"Go then if you so desire," said Guru [Nanak], "and having seen it return [here]."

Mardana took his rabab so that he might beg and proceeding straight to a town he entered it. When the women [there] observed him all of them slowly closed in upon him.

83b No man was to be found there. "Come inside," they said, but Mardana replied, "Madam, I cannot enter."

[When] they perceived that he would not go in [voluntarily] they pushed him in and tied his hands with thread.

[373]Allahabad.

[374]The "Country Ruled by Women" is clearly the *strī-deś*, or *trīā-deś* of Puranic and Tantric legend. *GNSR*, p. 112. This janam-sakhi narrative evidently derives from the Nath legend concerning the captivity of Machhendranath (Minanath, Matsyedranath) and his transmutation into a sheep by the women who ruled in the country of Kadali. Mardana is, in like manner, turned into a sheep and is rescued by Baba Nanak just as Machhendranath was rescued by Gorakhnath. Shashibhusan Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults* (Calcutta, 1962), pp. 201-2, 244, 368n, 382n. Kadali is normally identified with Kamarupa (ibid, p. 378n) and both the *Purātan* and *Bālā* versions accept this identification. *Pur JS*, pp. 33-34. *Bālā JS*, p. 102. *GNSR*, p. 110. The *Q2* version, followed here by *B40* (also by the *Ādi Sākhīs*), gives no name to the country and sets it, mysteriously, "beside the sea". *AS*. p. 26. The *Gyān-ratanāvalī*, probably influenced by the *Hakīkat Rah M Rāje Śivnābh kī*, locates the story in the south, immediately prior to Baba Nanak's crossing to Ceylon. *GR*, pp. 227-30. Bhai Gurdas and the *Miharbān* tradition omit the legend altogether.

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Their thread was [enchanted by means of] a potent spell and through the [magic] power of the thread they could do whatever they wished [with him]. When they tied his hands with the thread he changed into a ram. They threw his rabab inside and having turned him into a ram they tethered him [in the courtyard].

[Meanwhile] Baba [Nanak] ji was scanning the road, but Mardana did not return. "God be blessed !" said Guru Baba [Nanak]. "He used to pluck the strings [of his rabab] and meditate on the divine Name of God. Wherever has he gone ? He had another man [with him] and he has not returned either."[376]

Guru Baba [Nanak] arose and went to the town. As he
84a proceeded [into the town he came to the place] where Mardana had been ensnared and there entered the courtyard. Seeing him [enter] the women all came to him. "You have my man. Return him [to me]," commanded Baba [Nanak]. "He is not here," they replied.

When Mardana, who had been turned into a ram, observed Baba [Nanak] he began to scratch the ground [with his hoof]. He was unable to speak, [for when he tried to do so he only] bleated. Baba [Nanak] saw that it was Mardana and motioned to him to be patient, [although] he could not help being amused at the same time.

Baba [Nanak] then said to the women, "If you would do a good deed restore my man."

"Sir," they replied, "where is this man ? Come in, Take food and drink. Where [else] would you go now ?"

As soon as they had said this Baba [Nanak's] hands were
84b instantly tied by the [magic] thread. But Baba [Nanak] ji is a perfected one. What can overcome him ! When their thread was tied [on him] nothing happened. They called others skilled [in sorcery, but] those who came [also] failed.

The following note appears in different and cruder hand at the foot of folio 84b, in a space which was presumably left by the scribe for an illustration. The text of the sakhi continues on folio 85a.

Bhai Sangu[376] had this volume written[377] by Dasvandhi's son, servant

[375]No clue is offered concerning the identity of this companion. The *Ādi Sākhīs* analogue includes the same reference, which means that it must have been recorded in *Q2*.

[376]Bhai Sangu is again mentioned in the colophon as the person responsible for the writing of the janam-sakhi (presumably in the role of commissioning patron). The later reference gives his name as Sangu Mal (f. 231a). The title *bh* accorded to Sikhs of recognised piety and learning.

[377]*likhavāī* : 'caused to be written' (i.e. commissioned) ; or 'dictated'. Because most of the manuscript has been copied from documentary sources the latter meaning can be dismissed.

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of the sangat.[378] It was written by Daia, the son of Khatri in obedience to the sangat's wishes. The illustrations were executed by Alam Chand, Raj, servant of the sangat.

85a "Restore my man, "said Baba [Nanak].

They began to whisper to each other. "This must be some great warrior, someone of mighty power upon whom our *mantras* have no effect."

Baba [Nanak] repeated, "If you would do a good deed then restore my man."

"Find your man, wherever he may be, and take him," they replied.

"But you are not giving [him to me]." said Baba [Nanak]

"Take him !" they answered.

Baba [Nanak] ji released Mardana from the [enchanted] thread and he stood [before them], a man again.

"This is no man !" cried [the women, referring to Baba Nanak]. "This is a god ! He, over whom our *mantras* were ineffectual, must be God !"

All the women came and fell at [Baba Nanak's] feet and from their hearts they made [this] request ; "Sir, we have

85b suffered much from the absence of men. Free us, sir, from this suffering."

Baba [Nanak] ji, being one who understands inner thoughts and motives, heard their petition and blessed them. They found peace and began to sing the praises of God.

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows : A dis course held with Siddhs.

ILLUSTRATION 20

86a BABA [NANAK] JI'S DISCOURSE WITH SIDDHS [ON MOUNT SUMERU][379]

Baba [Nanak] ji climbed Mount Sumeru[380] and [there]

[378]The colophon indicates that the copyist's name was Daya Ram Abrol (f. 230b). See Introduction, p. 20. His designation "servant" (*ṭahalīā*) assumes the sense of *sevadār*, steward.

[379]This sakhi is examined in *EST* and *GNSR*, pp. 119-22.

[380]Mount Sumeru or, more commonly, Mount Meru is the lengendary mountain said to be situated in the centre of the earth. According to the cosmology of the *Purāṇas* the earth was flat and from its central point there arose this mountain. Seven continents (*dvīpa*) lay in concentric circles around it. The inmost of the seven, which was attached to Mount Meru and which included Bharatavarsa (India), was named Jambudvipa. The summit of Mount Meru was believed to reach to the heavens, and the sun and planets revolved around it. The Him were said to be its foothills. A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India* (London, 1954), pp. 320, 488-89. *GNSR* p. 120. For the understanding of the seven *dvīpas* current during the janam-sakhi period see *A'in* III, 28-29. See also note 639.

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before [him], Siddhs were seated. Sri Gorakhnath, Raja Bharathari, Isarnath, Charapatnath, Raja Gopichand[381]— all were sitting [there]. Baba [Nanak] ji ascended to that place. It was a place where men could not go, [but] Baba [Nanak] climbed up there.

When Baba [Nanak] ascended [the mountain and appeared before the Siddhs] Gorakhnath asked, "who is this person who has managed to reach this place ? Who is he ?"

"This is Nanak Bedi," replied a disciple.[382] "He is a bhagat who lives by the Beas[383] river which flows past Sultanpur. It is Nanak".

"These are Siddhs," commented Baba [Nanak], "but he

[381]The five interlocutors are five celebrated Nath masters, named by Nanak himself in a series of shalok recorded in *Vār Rāmkalī* (*AG*, pp. 952-53). Gorakhnath, Gopinath, and Charapatnath appear in the first of the lists of the nine Naths given by G.W. Briggs, *Gorakhnāth and the Kānphaṭa Yogīs* (Calcutta, 1938), p. 136. Isar is a name of Siva, the Adinath or 'Primal Master' of the Nath sect. Bharathari, or Bhartrhari, is said to have been a disciple of Gorakhnath and to have founded the Bairag sub-sect of the Kanphat order. According to tradition he was a king of Ujjain who abdicated his throne to become a yogi. Ibid, p. 65. Raja Bharathari should not be confused with the celebrated Sanskrit poet Bhartrhari. Of the names listed here Gorakhnath at least must be accepted as an historical figure, but practically all that is related concerning him must be regarded as legend. His period is uncertain, but appears to have been between the ninth and twelfth century A. D. See G. W. Briggs, op. cit., pp. 179-83, 228-50 ; M. Eliade, *Yoga : Immortality and Freedom* (London, 1958), pp. 228-29, 301 ff ; Rangey Raghava, *Gorakhnāth aur unkā yug* (Delhi, 1963), pp. 29, 43. The fact that Gorakhnath is given such prominence in the janam-sakhis must reflect a corresponding prominence in the popular imagination and legends of early seventeenth-century Punjab. The figures named in this discourse are strictly speaking, Nath masters, not Siddhs. In all the janam-sakhis, however, as in medieval Indian usage generally, the Nath tradition is confused with the earlier Siddh tradition of Mahayana Budhism from which it derives. For the manners in which this discourse evolved out of the names of these figures see *GNSR*, pp. 11-12, 121, 152.

[382]*chelā* : one of the other Siddhs (all of whom are regarded as disciples of Gorakhnath).

[383]Although the word *viāh* normally means 'marriage' it seem clear from the *B40* compiler's rudimentary punctuation that it should be attached to the following word (*nadi*, 'stream' or 'river') and that accordingly it should be read as the name of a stream or river. The reference may be to the Vein Strea n which flows past the outskirts of Sultanpur, but the Beas River (which is only a short distance from Sultanpur) seems more likely. In a different context the *Adī Sakhīs* compiler uses *viāh* when referring unmistakably to the Beas. *AS*, p. 57. There is, however, a possibility that the *B40* compiler or his source may have misplaced the punctuation and that *viāh* should instead be attached to the preceding word, *bhagat*. If this were to be the case its literal meaning would have to be accepted and the translation would read : 'He is a married bhagat. He lives by th ows past Sultanpur'. The later *Miharbān* version, accepting this ads *viāh ka bhagat* and makes no reference to any river, nor to Sultanpur. *Mih JS* I. 385. The *Ādi Sākhīs*, following the same *Q2* source as *B40*, agrees with the *B40* interpretation. *AS* p. 37.

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who is a Siddh ought not to have spoken in this manner."

"Son, it is not your place to question him," said Gorakh
86b [nath to the disciple and] then to Baba [Nanak] he said, "From where have you come, child ?"

"I have come from [the land of] hope [and] anxiety,"[384] answered Guru Baba [Nanak].

"In what manner did you live in [the land of] hope [and] anxiety ?" asked Gorakhnath.

"I lived in [the land of] hope [and] anxiety as a waterfowl lives on water," replied Guru Baba [Nanak].

"What is happening in the world ?" enquired Gorakhnath, whereupon Guru Baba [Nanak] recited a shalok.

Shalok[385]

There is a famine of Truth, falsehood prevails, and in the darkness of Kaliyug men have become ghouls.
They who sowed the seed [of Truth]reaped glory, but how can it germinate now [that it is split in twain like] *dāl* ?[386]
[Only] if it is whole and the season clement will it germinate.
If raw cloth is not treated, Nanak, how can it absorb dye ?
So let [my] body be boiled in the fear [of God] in order that it may be treated with the humility [which prepares it for the dye].
87a And Nanak, if it be dyed in devotion [to God] all falsehood is purged away. 1.

[387]The Kaliyug is a knife, kings are butchers, *dharma* has taken wings and flown.
The dark night[388] of falsehood has fallen and the moon of Truth is invisible. Where [O where] has it fled ?
Groping [for the path] I have lost my reason ; in the darkness no way can be found.
[Entangled in the] suffering of *haumai*[389] I cry out [in anguish]. How, ask Nanak, can one find salvation ? 2.

[390]Idle men[391] commit sin and then [seek to] earn merit ; and

[384]*āsā andesā*, the world of ordinary mortals.
[385]*Vār Āsā* 11 : 1, *AG* p. 468.
[386]Split lentil.
[387]*Vār Mājh* 16 : 1, *AG* p. 145.
[388]*amāvas* : the first night of the first lunar quarter, at which time the moon is invisible as a result of the conjunction of the sun and the moon ; the night of the new moon.
[389]Self ; self-centredness. *GNSR*, pp. 181-84.
[390]*Vār Rāmkalī* 11 : 1, *AG* p. 951.
[391]*AG* : 'Givers of charity'.

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[false] gurus visit the houses of their disciples to give instruction.

Women love men for their money, caring nothing for their origins or for their fate.

None pays heed to the Sastras or to the Veda ; the worship they offer is to themselves alone.

The Turks[392] din their laws into the ears and hearts [of the people], but they oppress the people and slander each other.

[The Hindus] prepare their cooking-square [and imagine that thereby] they render themselves pure. Did anyone ever observe a Hindu preserve [true] purity in this manner ?

A man becomes a qazi and sits in his court ; he tells his rosary and calls upon God.

[But] he takes a bribe and subverts justice ; and if challenged reads and expounds [a passage from the Shari'at][393]

The yogi and the married man, ascetics with matted hair or with ash-smeared bodies—each of these disciples will weep in turn.

87b For they have missed [the path of true] yoga and their efforts are wasted. To what end do they cast ashes upon their heads ?

This, Nanak, is the measure of the Kaliyug that each person commends himself and each regards [only] himself as wise. 3.

"Sri Gorakhnathji," continued Baba [Nanak], "such is the strife[394] which has come [into the world]. You know all things and you give utterance to them. Whom do you [need to] ask ? You are [yourself] the one who explains."

Sri Gorakhnath reflected deeply [and then] commanded Raja Bharathari : "Impart the revelation[395] to Nanak. If such a person were to become a follower of my Yoga its glory would be magnified."

In accordance with Sri Gorakhnath's command Raja Bharathari addressed Baba Nanak : "Nanak, [mighty men] such as Isarnath, Bharathari, Gopichand, Charapatnath,

88a and Machhendranath have attained the [exalted] ranks of the Siddhs. Join [the ranks] too. You will not be [as great]

[392]The Lodi Afghan rulers.

[393]In the Adi Granth version the two couplets concerning the corrupt qazi precede the couplet which refers to the oppressive Turks.

[394]*kali*. It may be rendered : "Such is the Kaliyug..."

[395]*upades ke darsau*.

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a guru as Sri Gorakhnath [but], Nanak," Bharathari continued," you will receive the initiation[396] from the hands of Sri Gorakhnath [himself].

Baba Nanakji replied : "One attains yoga[397] in accordance with [the quality of one's] service, meditation, devotion, and continuance. Describe to me the method whereby you reached the condition of yoga."

Now Isarnath was a great disciple of Sri Gorakhnath, and [this same] Sri Isarnath was a householder (*grahastī*).[398] He expounded the way by means of which a householder can attain yoga.

Shalok[399]

The true householder is he who restrains his passions;[400]
Who seeks [from God the capacity] to repeat [the divine Name], perform austerities, and impose upon himself a rigorous] discipline ;
Who makes charity the outward expression[401] [of his faith].
88b Such a householder is as [pure as] Ganga water. [God], declares Isar, is constituted by Truth,
And this Supreme Reality[402] possesses neither visible sign nor manifest form. 1.

Now Sri Gorakhnath was an ascetic (*avadhūt*). He expounds the Way of Asceticism :

Shalok[403]

The true ascetic is he who burns his Self,
Who seeks and feeds upon the searing fire [of purification]
He who begs [this prize] in the [inner] city of the heart,

[396] *darśan.*

[397] The word *yoga* is here used in the strict sense of 'union' (i.e. union with God).

[398] *grihastī*, non-celibate. In the shalok which follows *girahī* is used instead of *grihastī*.

[399] *Vār Rāmkalī* (*Mahalā 3*) 12 : 2, *AG* p. 952.

[400] *nigrihu* : the shaloks said to have been uttered by Gorakhnath's companions are built upon a series of puns. The verb *nigrihu karnā* is a pun on *girahī* (householder) ; *avadhūtī* is followed by *dhūpai* ; *pākhaṇḍī* by *pakhāle*, &c. The beliefs which find expression in them are directly contrary to the doctrines of Nath yogis of the kind who, in the janam-sakhis, are purported to have uttered them. The massage which they communicate embodies one of Guru Nanak's c reinterpretations of Nath doctrine and terminology. *GNSR* pp. 157-58.

[401] *sarīru*, 'body'.

[402] *tat*, 'essence'.

[403] *Vār Rāmkalī* (*Mahalā 3*) 12 : 3, *AG* p. 952.

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He is the true ascetic who ascends to the abode of Siva.
[God], declares Gorakh, is constituted by Truth,
And this Supreme Reality possesses neither visible sign nor manifest form. 2.

This was what Sri Gorakhnath said—that whoever [follows this] path and becomes an ascetic will attain to this yoga.

Now Charapatnath was a follower of the Way of Dissimulation (*pākhaṇḍī*).[404] Charapatnath spoke [as follows]:

Shalok[405]

The true *pākhaṇḍī* is he who cleanses his body [of impurity];
Who manifests God [in] an everlasting fire [of purification];[406]
Who withholds the emission of semen, even while asleep.[407]
Such a *pākhaṇḍī* neither grows old nor dies.
89a [God], declares Charapat, is constituted by Truth,
And this Supreme Reality possesses neither visible sign nor manifest form. 3.

"If anyone should follow this way—the Way of Dissimulation—he will attain to yoga," declared Charapatnath.

Next Raja Gopichand spoke. Raja Gopichand was a celibate (*udāsī*).[408]

[404]*pākhandī* or *pāṣandī*: lit. hypocrisy, heresy, blasphemy.

[405]*Vār Rāmkalī* (*Mahalā 3*) 12 : 5, *AG* p. 952.

[406]*AG*: '[in the light of his] body's [purifying] fire.'

[407]In contradistinction to yogis of the 'left-handed' tantric sects for whom promiscuous sexual intercourse could be an approved method of attaining salvation. This and the preceding line also appear in a shabad attributed to Kabir (*Bhairau* 11, *AG* p. 1160). In the *Kabīr-granthāvalī* the shabad (*pada*) is no. 30.

[408]*udāsī*: lit. one who is dejected, withdrawn. In modern Sikh usage the term designates an order of ascetics who reverence the Adi Granth and who claim as their founder Siri Chand, the son of Guru Nanak. The reference which Nanak makes to an *udāsī* in the shalok which follows indicates that the word was applied to ascetics during his lifetime, and the context in which he uses it could perhaps imply a distinctive order of Nath or Nath-influenced yogis. On the other hand, however, no such title appears in the lists of Kanphat order. It seems more likely that Nanak was merely referring to a specific feature of Nath practice, namely celibacy. This at least seems to be the meaning to the word by the *B40* compiler. Elsewhere in the *B40* janam-sakhi *udāsī* is bracketted with *grahastī* (householder) in a manner which indicates that it is to be read as the opposite of *grahastī*. See folios 73a(2) and 106a (second reference). The modern Udasis certainly represent a continuation of Nath ideals within the Sikh panth (or associated with it) and it is fitting that they should have rece ich expressed this affiliation. The word *udāsī* is also used by t ith developed chronologies to designate the journeys of Baba Nanak, possibly because these travels were understood as a form of withdrawal from worldly activity. See also note 41.

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Shalok[409]

The true udasi is he who upholds renunciation;
Who in all places recognises the dwelling-place of the Immaculate One;
Who comprehends the excellence of the realm of the Void.[410]

[409] *Vār Rāmkalī* (*Mahalā 3*) 12 : 4, *AG* p. 952.

[410] *sunu maṇḍal* (*śūnyāvasthā*) : the 'state of void' ; the condition of ineffable tranquillity which according to Nath doctrine constitutes the blissful climax of the hatha-yoga discipline. It denotes the same condition as the more common term *sahaj*. (See The term *sunī śūnya*, 'void') passed from Vajrayāna Buddhist doctrin into Nath usage, and thence into Sant and Sikh terminology where (like all such Nath-derived terms) its meaning is transformed. *Sahaj* and *sunī* both retain the notion of a bliss beyond describing, but it is a condition which consummates the devotional discipline of *nām simaran*, not the physiological technique of hatha-yoga.

In Nath usage *sūnya* also serves to designates the point within the human body where the condition is actually realised. According to the physiological theories of hatha-yoga a channel known as *suṣumṇā*, or *sukhmanā*, runs through the spinal cord. Along the *suṣumṇā* are located six, or eight, *chakra* (discs, 'lotuses') and at its base, behind the genitals, is the *kuṇḍalinī*, a latent power symbolized by the figure of a sleeping serpent. By means of *Prānāyām* (the technique of breath-control) the *kuṇḍalinī* is awakened, and ascending the *suṣumṇā* it pierces each *chakra* in turn, thereby releasing progressively effectual stores of psychic energy. At the climax of the ascent it pierces the *sahasradal*, the 'lotus of a thousand petals' said to be located at the top of the cranium. The *sahasradal* is also known as the *śūnya chakra*, for it is the piercing of this last 'lotus' which finally induces the condition of supreme bliss (*śūnya*, or *sahaj*).

In place of the *B40* reference to the *sunu maṇḍal* the Adi Granth version of this particular line makes use of an allied Nath concept.

chand sūraj kī pāe gaṇḍhī
Who effects the junction of moon and sun.
—*AG*, p. 952.

The 'moon' of hatha-yoga doctrine represents the creative principle and is said to be located immediately below the *sahasradal*. The 'sun', in contradistinction, represents the destructive principle and is located in the area of the navel. Within the 'moon' is stored nectar (*amrit*, or *mahā-ras*), the distilled essence of immortality, which is normally permitted to escape downwards through the 'curved duct' (*saṅkhinī*, or *baṅk nāl*) and so be consumed by the 'sun'. At the mouth of the 'curved duct' is the *dasam duār*, the 'tenth door', which when closed will prevent the escape of *amrit*. A vital feature of the hatha-yoga technique must accordingly be the ability to seal the *dasam duār*. This is achieved in a number of ways, the most important being *khecharī-mudrā* whereby the tongue is turned backwards in order to block the *dasam duār*. The *amrit* preserved in this manner can then be 'drunk' by the yogin.

The objective is a perfect balance of creation and destruction, in order that the *amrit* may be used to rejuvenate the whole body. In Nath terminology this balance is represented as the junction of moon and sun. Thus is
shed and the bliss of the *śūnyāvasthā* enjoyed to all eternity. See C... ...ndeme, *Kabīr Granthāvalī (Dohā)* (Pondichery, 1957), p. xx. Shashibhusan Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults* (Calcutta, 1962), chaps. I, IV, IX *passim*.

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Such an udasi [endures as a tower] with walls which will not crumble.
[God], declares Gopichand, is constituted by Truth,
And this Supreme Reality possesses neither visible sign nor manifest form. 4.

Next [came] Raja Bharathari [who] was a renunciant *(bairāgī)*[411] and he [too] expounds the method whereby he has attained yoga.

Shalok[412]

The true bairagi is he who lays hold of God [Braham];[413]
Who has erected in the realm of the Void[414] the pillar [of the divine Word];
Who is constantly absorbed in inner contemplation
Such a bairagi is a [living] replica of Truth.
[God], declares Bharathari, is constituted by Truth,
And this Supreme Reality possesses neither visible sign nor manifest form. 5.

89b "He who [follows] this way and becomes a bairagi will attain the yoga of *bairāg*," declared Raja Bharathari.
Then Sri Guru Baba Nanakji replied :

Shalok[415]

How can evil be destroyed and an [effective] discipline be sustained [through the methods of hatha-yoga] ?
Why should one have to continue to eat food after having had one's ears split ?
What is the [mystic] syllable which can still the heart ?
It is the one Name, pre-existent and eternal !
If [to any man] sunshine and shadow are alike,
Then, says Nanak, [he is open to] the Guru's directing.
The disciples [of the Naths] follow the six sects [of the Nath tradition],
But they [miss both paths and] are neither householders nor [true] ascetics.

[411]See note 381.
[412]*Vār Rāmkalī* (*Mahalā 3*) 12:6, *AG* p. 953.
[413]Lit. 'Who turns back God [into the *man*]' instead of turning back the breath as in standard hatha-yoga practice.
[414]In place of *sun maṇḍal* the Adi Granth version has *gagan maṇḍal*, 'the realm of the Sky', where 'Sky' is used in its hatha-yoga sense as a climatic symbol corresponding to 'Void'. *AG*, p. 953.
[415]*Vār Rāmkalī* (*Mahalā 3*) 12:7, *AG* p. 953.

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He who is absorbed in union with the Formless One—
What need has he of begging for alms ?
[God], declares Nanak, is constituted by Truth,
And this Supreme Reality possesses neither visible sign manifest form.[416] 6.

When Baba [Nanak] ji had uttered [this shalok] the Siddhs realised that he was speaking [as one who possessed]
90a exalted understanding. [They said to themselves], "Our [own understanding] is insufficient to comprehend [this of which] Nanak speaks."

Raja Bharathari said to Baba [Nanak] ji "Nanak, the panth of Sri Gorakhnath is a great one. Accept initiation [into it]."

"I have already been initiated," answered Sri Nanakji. He then sang a shabad in *Āsā* raga.[417]

Rāg Āsā

Let my ear-ring[418] be the Guru's divine Word, clasped to my heart; and forgiveness the patched robe which I don.
Whatever he does may I accept as good, and so be swallowed up in the Ocean of blissful union.[419] 1.

Baba, he who obtains this union is a yogi unto all ages, for it is into the Eternal One[420] that he has been gathered.
He has found the Elixir, the divine Name of the Immaculate One, and within his heart has joyously fed on the nectar of divine Wisdom. *Refrain*

I have taken my place in the City of Siva,[421] abandoning all [external] rites and [doctrinal] disputation.
90b My horn is the divine Word, eternally resounding, ever giving forth [its celestial] music. 2.

Meditation is my begging-bowl, an illumined mind my staff, [and recognition of God's] omnipresence the ashes [I smear on my body].

[416]The Adi Granth version does not include the last couplet.
[417]*Āsā* 37, *AG* pp. 359-60. The extensive use of Nath terminology in this shabad renders it an exceedingly difficult composition to translate.
[418]*mundrā*, or *mudrā* : the large ear-ring worn by Kanphat yogis. For the various accessories worn or carried by Kanphat yogis see G. W. Briggs, op. cit., pp. 6-22, 201-2. In the lines which follow Guru Nanak refers to the patched robe, the horn, the begging-bowl, the staff, smeared ashes, and the crutch.
[419]*sahaj yog*.
[420]*paramu tat*, the 'Supreme Essence'.
[421]I have concentrated my vision upon the inner spirit.

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The singing of God's praises constitutes my regular discipline and [for me] the ascetic [way] is the way directed by the Guru. 3.

The vision of divine Light in all is the crutch [upon which I lean—a single Presence] though its froms be infinite.
Hear me Bharathari Yogi ! Nanak declares : [Salvation is found in] union with the Supreme Lord, the One. 4.

After Baba [Nanak] ji had recited this shabad the Siddhs cried, "This is a master bhagat ! There is nothing [we] can tell him. He has already attained [mastery]."

When this discourse was over a cup was passed around by the Siddhs—[a cup] of intoxicating liquor. Raja Bharathari placed [it] before Baba [Nanak] ji and said, "Pray drink this."

"I have [already] taken drink," answered Baba [Nanak] ji.

91a "[But]Nanak !" exclaimed Raja Bharathari, "you have been with us for many days. From what have you drunk ?"

Baba [Nanak] ji answered Raja Bharathari: "Raja, I have drunk a cup with intoxicating effects which never wear off."

"What liquor is that, with intoxicating effects which never wear off ?" asked Raja Bharathari. "From what is it made ?"[422]

"I shall tell you the source of [this] liquor," replied Sri Gurdev Baba Nanak, and sang a shabad in *Āsā* raga.[423]

Āsā

Take divine knowledge as your raw sugar,[424] meditation as the *mahuā* blossom,[425] and worthy deeds the [shreds of] *ktkar* bark.[426]

[Boil these ingredients in] the still of adoration,[427] cool (the vapour) with love, and in this manner you shall obtain the Elixir of life.[428] 1.

Baba, [spiritual] intoxication of the mind comes from drinking the nectar of God;[429] [thus is it] flushed with

[422]Lit. 'What is poured in it ?'

[423]*Āsā* 38, *AG* p. 360. A shabad attributed to Kabir begins in very similar terms (*Rāmkalī* 2, *AG* p. 969; *Kabīr Granthāvalī* no. 72).

[424]*gur* : the coarse sugar produced by the first boiling of cane syrup, extensively used in the preparation of home-brewed liquor in Punjab villages.

[425]*Bassia latifolia*. The blossom is used for distilling liquor.

[426]*Acacia arabica*. The bark is used for distillation.

[427]*bhāu*. *AG* : *bhavanu*, 'the body'.

[428]*amiu* (*amrit*). *AG* : *rasi amiu*.

[429]*rāmu*. *AG* : *nāmu*, 'the Name'.

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Truth,[430]

91b Ever lost in [the ecstasy of] love wherein resounds the Unstruck Word.[431] *Refrain*

Upon all who enter His grace the Perfect Lord Himself bestows the cup of Truth.

What liking can the dealer in *amrit* have for poor wine ? 2.

Accepted [in God's sight] is he who drinks the *amrit* of the Guru's divine utterance;

Heedless of salvation or of Paradise he craves only a vision of the gate [which leads to Thee]. 3.

The true bairagi is he who in raptures of divine praise casts not his life away with the throw of a dice.

Hear me, Bharathari Yogi ! Nanak declares : [True] intoxication [comes from] draughts of the *amrit*-[Name]. 4.

"Adesh !"[432] cried the Siddhs when this shabad had been sung. "Blessed is Nanak !" they exclaimed. "All hail to you ! Blessings upon you, from whom we have received this shabad !" And Gorakhnath said, "Nanak, if there is anything you desire, ask for it."

[Accepting the offer] Sri Satguru Baba Nanak asks [by singing the following] stanza :[433]

92a He cannot be set up [as an idol] for He is uncreated;

He, the Spotless One, is His own cause and origin.

He who serves Him wins honour [in the divine court],

So sing His praises Nanak, [sing of Him] the Treasury of excellences !

Sing His praises, hear them, and nurture His love in your heart,

For so shall misery be wiped away and joy make its abode within.

The voice of the Guru is the mystic music,[434] [the wisdom of] the Veda, the immanent Presence.

The Guru is Siva, the Guru is Gorakh, the Guru is Brahma, and the Guru is Parvati the Mother.

Even if I were to comprehend [the multitude of His manifestations] I could never express them, so far is He beyond all telling.

But one thing the Guru has revealed :

[430] *AG* : *sahaj*.

[431] *sabad anāhad*. *GNSR*, pp. 191-92, 225.

[432] 'Hail !' The characteristic salutation of the Kanphat yogis.

[433] *Japji* 5, *AG* p. 2.

[434] *nād*.

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That there is one Lord of all creation; let me forget Him not. 1.

"This is what I ask," said Guru Baba [Nanak].

"You already possess this thing," answered Sri Gorakhnath.

Sri Gorakhnath then asked Baba [Nanak] ji: "Babaji, what is the benefit to be derived from meeting a Siddh—from meeting one of the exalted understanding *(maha-purukh)* ?

92b If [the Siddh] so desires then no matter how sinful [that person] may be he finds salvation. He who cherishes a throne obtains it, or [if this be his wish] he lives to an advanced age. This is the benefit to be derived from meeting a Siddh. Accept some of these things from me. Take what you desire. You have met me," Sri Gorakhnath said to Baba [Nanak] ji, "So take what you desire."

"I need nothing," replied Baba [Nanak, "but one thing] I do ask you to give." [He then sang the following] stanza :[435]

Were one to live through the four ages and ten times more;
Were one to be renowned throughout the entire universe[436] and followed by all;
Were one to possess a name of high repute, lauded over all the earth—
If, [regardless of all this], a man does not receive the divine grace none will pay him heed.
He is as the lowliest of worms, spurned even by the sinful.
Upon the base, Nanak, He bestows virtue, and to the virtuous adds yet more.

93a [And such grace is His alone] : who else in like manner can impart goodness to the sinful ?

"Sri Gorakhnathji," continued Baba [Nanak] ji, "this thing I ask: that I may not be forgetful of God, and that all [desire for] princely authority or length of years may be trampled underfoot. Give me your blessing that I may not be forgetful of God and that I may find the perfect guru."

Joining his palms Sri Gorakhnath gave his blessing: "Yours will be an unending devotion and there will be no guru to match you in the Kaliyug. And the Guru who is to come will be born in your house[437] and will be created by you."

[435] *Japji* 7, *AG* p. 2.

[436] Lit. 'in the nine worlds'.

[437] This evidently refers to the appointment of Angad as Nanak's successor and specifically to the janam-sakhi tradition that the name Angad was chosen because he was created out of the *ang* (limb, or body) of Nanak. See note 438.

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After Gorakhnath and all the Siddhs had give their blessing Sri Guru Baba Nanakji departed. He returned to Kartarpur where he remained [for some time]. Now it occurred to Guru Baba [Nanak] that a Guru should be brought forth from [his own] body.[438] Laying before [the
93b chosen disciple] an offering of five pice and a coconut he prostrated himself.[439]

The sakhi is finished. A nother sakhi follows : Angadji makes a pilgrimage.

ILLUSTRATION 21

94a ILLUSTRATION 22

94b [THE MEETING WITH LAHANA][440]

The command of God came to Angad [who] lived in Harike, [near] Matte di Sarai.[441] [To this man] there came the command of God. The people of Harike had set off for

[438]*aṅg*. The *Purātan* janam-sakhis attribute this remark to Gorakhnath. *Pur JS*, p. 108. The derivation of Angad's name from the noun *aṅg* is not as naive as the English translation may suggest. It evidently derives from the idiom *kisī ke aṅg saṅg hoṇā*, 'to be united with someone', where the union refers to a mingling of personalities. The idiom is used on folio 214a to describe the union of any Sikh with his Guru.

[439]The offering of five coins and a coconut signifies the conferring of authority by an incumbent upon a successor.

[440]This sakhi is analysed in *EST*.

[441]The village of Matte di Sarai (now known as Nage di Sarai) is located in the Muktsar tahsil of Ferozepore District. Harike should not be confused with the small town on the right bank of the Satluj, immediately below its confluence with the Beas. The Harike to which reference is made in this account is a small village adjacent to Nage di Sarai. Vir Singh (ed.), *Srī Gur Pratāp Sūraj Granth*, vol. 5 (Amritsar, 1962), p. 1362, n. †. The dominant tradition current today concerning the early years of Lahana (or Lahina) derives from the *Nānak Prakāś*. According to this later tradition Lahana, having been born and brought up in Matte di Sarai, subsequently moved to the village of Khadur (Tarn Taran tahsil, Amritsar District) where he served as *pujārī* to a community of Durga-worshippers. From Khadur he made annual visits to a temple of Durga in the Himalayan foothills and on one of these visits encountered Baba Nanak while passing near Kartarpur. *NPr* II. 47. The *B40* version disagrees. The pilgrimage was, it claims, made from Harike and it was only after he had become a Sikh that Lahana, in response to a command from his Master, transferred his residence to Khadur. This *B40* account (derived from its *Q2* source and followed also by the *Ādi Sākhīs* and the *Miharbān Janam-sākhī*) is obviously much earlier and is supported by the Khadur-based *Mahimā Prakāś* version. *AS*, pp. 69, 70. *Mih JS* II. 66, 68. *SLTGN (Eng)*, pp [illegible]. *Purātan* janam-sakhis omit both traditions. Instead they briefly record that Lahana was the *Pujārī* of the Durga-worshippers in Khadur and that one day he was converted to discipleship after overhearing a Sikh recite one of Baba Nanak's shabads.

(Contd. on next page)

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a shrine[442] of Durga [located] in another place, in order to make an offering to Durga.[443] Guru Angad's name was [at that time] Lahana, and Lahana's custom[444] was to visit [this] temple of Bhagauti[445] annually.

[In accordance with this same custom] all the people who lived in Harike had gone to make an offering to Durga. As they poceeded on their way they drew near to Kartarpur. "Whose village is this ?" the people asked [and someone] replied, "This is Kartarpur, [the village] of Nanak Bedi. He is renowned as a great bhagat."

[The pilgrims from Harike] had all heard of him, but none had seen him, [and so] they asked, "Is it [that same] Nanak Bedi whom [people] call a bhagat ?"

"That very person," replied [their informant].

"We have heard of him ! "exclaimed the people [of Harike
95a "We have heard that great men of] God come to his house. Let us have an audience (*darśan*) with him."

"Yes, certainly !" everyone responded, and all who were in the party turned and went back [to Kartarpur]. They came and did homage to Baba Nanak. There were other people at the place to which they had come and from amonget them all it was Guru Angad who caught the eye of Baba [Nanak].

"Who are you, son ?" Baba [Nanak] asked.

"Sir, I am a Khatri," [Lahana] replied.

"What kind of Khatri ?" enquired Guru Baba [Nanak].

"A Trihan,[446] sir," he answered.

What is your name ?"

"Sir, [it is] Lahana," he replied.

"Your name is Angad, son," said the Guru. "You are wholly mine and you will not be separated from my body (*aṅg*).[447] You were born from my body."

(Cont d.....)

Pur JS, p. 106. The *Mahimā Prakāś Vāratak* version is of particular interest in that it locates Matte di Sarai within the Lakhi Jungle. *SLTGN* (*Eng*), p. 77. This is an interesting observation, for it suggests that the indistinct western boundary of the famous Lakhi Jungle may have extended almost to the Satluj, below its confluence with the Beas. On the Lakhi Jungle see Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, trans. and ed. by Wm. Irvine (London, 1907), pp. 457-58.

[442]*bavaṇ* : edifice, mansion.

[443]The *Nānak Prakāś* claims that the pilgrims' destination was Jwalamukhi in Kangra District. *NPr* II. 47 (12).

[444]*nem* : religious observance, covenant.

[445]Devi, the goddess Durga.

[446]Trehan, a Khatri *got*.

[447]See notes 437, 438.

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Hearing this Guru Angad fell at his feet.

95b "How do you feel ?" asked Guru Baba [Nanak, and] Guru Angad replied, "Sir, I have found peace, for I have seen you. If you so command I shall take leave of the [other] people and come [to you]."

Guru Angad went and bade farewell to all [the members of the party from Harike]. "Brother[s], my greetings[448] to everyone." All who were in the party returned [to their pilgrimage route, protesting as they left him], "But you are the leader of the party and the party has followed you. And now you are staying here ! What it means is that you are stopping here without making an offering at the shrine of the Mother [Durga]."

"God has here fulfilled the purpose for which I was going to the shrine," answered Guru Angad.

"*You* may have found fulfilment," said the people, "but what about us ?"

96a "Go now," answered Guru Angad. "God will grant you comfort and joy. Your hopes will also, [like mine], be fulfilled."

Guru Angad then bade farewell to the party and returned to Guru Baba [Nanak]. The party made [their] offering at the temple and then returning from there those people came and did homage to [Baba Nanak again]. Baba Nanak was well content. Having found spiritual peace [the pilgrims] took their leave.

Guru Angad, [however] remained with Baba [Nanak]. Wherever Baba [Nanak] was, there Guru Angad was also ; and wherever the Guru was, there [also] was a Sikh.[449] Light had blended in Light[450] [with] tranquillity filled to overflowing. Guru Baba Nanak made Guru Angad [a Guru] such as he was himself. The cup [of joy] was filled to overflowing.

[GURU ANGAD RETURNS TO MATTE DI SARAI]

After three years Guru Angad took leave of Guru Baba [Nanak] and returned to Matte di Sarai. In Harike it was

96b already common knowledge that Lahana the Trehan had

[448]'Ram, Ram.'

[449]The intention of this statement is not clear. It may perhaps mean that the Sikh to whom reference is made was Angad, that wherever Angad was to one also found, embodied in him, a true disciple.

[450]Guru Nanak's spirit had merged in that of Guru Angad, imparting to the latter the same divine enlightenment.

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remained with Nanak Bedi. "He did not go to the shrine," [said the people. "Instead] he announced, 'because of what has happened I have left my home.' [Now, after spending three years with Baba Nanak], he has left him. Guru Angad has taken leave of Baba Nanak and returned to his home."

When Guru Angad arrived in Matte di Sarai everyone in Harike took council together and declared, "Our Lahana has returned. [He has come] from Nanak and into what glory[451] he has entered ! Let us go and meet him."

And so all the people of Harike gathered together and went to meet him. Guru Angad arose to receive them and greeted everyone with an embrace When Takhtmal prostrated himself Guru Angad said, "Greet me with an embrace, Brother Takhtmal, [not with a prostration]."[452]

"You have come from an Exalted One," he replied, "and our only gain comes from humbling ourselves [before you]. You are [yourself] an Exalted One."

97a This pleased Guru Angad. To Takhtmal, who has fallen at his feet, [he said], "Noble man, you will be the greatest, and by God's grace there will be no flaw in your performance of any great work [which you may undertake]."

When Guru Angad spoke thus everyone took his words to heart. "We too shall find contentment," [they said], "and so we love everyone." Guru Angad then sang a shabad in *Sūhī* raga.[453]

Sūhī

They who cherish love in their hearts are exalted ;
Assuredly they are carried across [the Ocean of Existence].
[Upon them the Lord] bestows the blessing of joy, scattering their woes afar.[454] 1.

To those in whose destiny it is so inscribed there comes the Guru,
And to them He reveals the divine Name of Truth,[455] coferring immortality.

[451] *joti* : light.
[452] According to the *Nānak Prakāś* Takhtmal was a resident not of Harike but of Khadur where he was the *chaudharī*. *NPr* II. 48 (51). *MK*, p. ii. 7-8.
[453] The shabad is by Guru Nanak. *Sūhī* 5, *AG* p. 729.
[454] In the Adi Granth version the second and third lines of the stanza are reversed.
[455] *AG* : 'of God'.

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By His leading they walk [the path of life and] wander not [elsewhere] to beg. 2.

Why should he who dwells in the divine Presence submit to another ?
No gatekeeper will question him [as he enters in at] the gate [to the divine court].
He upon whom there rests the Master's grace finds salvation in the [Guru's] utterance. 3.

97b He alone both sends us forth and summons us back.[456]
He casts down and raises up ; He [alone] knows the manner whereby all things are created.
Upon the one who received His grace, O Nanak, there is bestowed the blessing of the divine Name ! 4.

[GURU ANGAD MOVES TO KHADUR : HIS CLOTHES RUINED]

When Guru Angad took leave of him Guru Baba [Nanak] had said, "Son Angad, leave that place. Come and live near me." In accordance with this instruction Guru Angad came and settled in Khadur.[457] After he had reached Khadur and installed his family there [a summons] arrived from Guru Baba [Nanak. He proceeded to Kartarpur and] there [found that] Guru Baba [Nanak] was having rice threshed. Going [to him] Guru Angad prostrated himself and Guru [Nanak], with fond affection, took his head in his hands. As water mingles with water so did Guru Angad's [spirit] blend with [that of] Guru Baba Nanak.

When the threshing was completed Guru Baba [Nanak]
98a set out for home. Now Guru Angad was wearing a suit of fine, pure white cloth. "Son Angad," said Guru Baba [Nanak], "pick up this bundle of paddy."

Mud was streaming from the bundle of paddy as [freely as] water might have poured from it. Four men lifted the bundle onto Guru Angad's head [and he carried it back to the village. Meanwhile], Guru Baba [Nanak] proceeded to his house and went inside.

[When he reached the village] Guru Angad lowered the bundle from his head and prostrated himself before Mata

[456]The *AG* version inserts the word *matai* : 'He sends us forth and summons us back, consulting no one.'

[457]The village of Khadur is situated in Tarn Taran tahsil of Amritsar Distr[illegible] distance from the Beas river. It is approximately eighty kilome[illegible] Kartarpur.

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[Choni].[458] When she looked [at him] Mata [Choni saw] that his clothes were drenched with mud. "What kind of custom is this," she [indignantly] asked Baba [Nanak], "that when a respectable person pay a visit you place on his head grass dripping with mud ! Will anyone come to you [if you do this sort of thing] ?"

"Fogetful one," Guru Baba Nanak chided her kindly,
98b "this is not a bundle of grass which I laid on Angad's head ! And do not regard it as a drenching with mud. It has been transformed into an affusion[459] of saffron !"

[Hearing this] Guru Angad fell at his feet.

[THE INSTALLATION OF GURU ANGAD]

Sri Guru Nanakji then imparted[460] the fullness of his light to Guru Angad [and Guru Angad's] cup was filled to overflowing. Having done [this Baba Nanak] brought five pice and a coconut. [These he laid before Guru Angad, thereby] designating him [his successor as] Guru. Guru Angad stood before Baba [Nanak] ji with his palms together and then prostrated himself, [saying], "You alone, O Lord, know what is right." Then all members of the sangat prostrated themselves, [for] the Sikhs realised that [Guru Nanak] intended to bestow [his] authority upon this Exalted One. On this occasion Guru [Nanak] sang a shabad in *Sirī Rāg*.[461]

Sirī Rāg

[The Lord] is Himself the delectable object, Himself the sweetness [within it], and Himself the Beloved One[462] who savours it.

He is the Mistress, He the couch, and He the Lover [who shares it with her]. 1.

99a Steeped in love is my Beloved,[463] immanent in all [creation] !
Refrain

[458]The wife of Guru Nanak, commonly referred to as Mata Choni, or Mother Choni. (Chona was the Khatri *got* to which her family belonged.) The text has simply *mātā*, but the reference must be to Mata Choni. Of the major janam-sakhi traditions only *Bālā* uses her actual name, Sulakhani. *GNSR*, p. 104.

[459]*kaḷorī* : cup, chalice.

[460]*samāī* : merged, blended.

[461]*Sirī Rāgu* 25, *AG* p. 23.

[462]The *AG* version omits *piārā*, 'Beloved One'.

[463]*piārā*. *AG* : *sāhibu*, 'Lord'.

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He is the fish, He the fisherman, He the water and He the net ;
He is the bead wherewith the net is weighted ; He too the rope with which to draw it in. 2.

[Behold] my Beloved, my friends ; [behold] the manifold pleasures which he enjoys !
Daily He enjoys the mistress [He favours] : how miserable am I, [separated from Him]. 3.

Thus Nanak pleads [with Thee], Thou who art both the lake and the swan [thereon].
Thou art the lotus, Thou the lily, and seeing all Thou dost rejoice. 4.1.

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows : A sakhi [relating a discourse] with Mula the Khatri.

99b

ILLUSTRATION 23

100a

[MULA THE KHATRI][464]

Now Baba Nanak went about dressed as a bairagi and [at the same time] as a faqir.[465] On one foot [he wore] a shoe[466] and on the other a wooden sandal. Over the lower part of his body[467] he wrapped a length of yellow cloth and over the upper part a length of ochre cloth. On his head he wore a hat[468] and on his forehead a *tilak*.[469] He could be identified as neither Hindu nor Muslim. To Hindus he

[464]The story of Mula the Khatri is prefaced with a brief excursus which describes the pattern of Baba Nanak's life, and defines the nature and method of his mission (folio 100a-b). This is of considerable interest in that it refers to the distinctive features of belief and custom which the *B40* compiler evidently shared with much of the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Sikh community. These features receive particular prominence in the *Narrative III* tradition, (see Introduction, pp. 12-13) and if this brief passage is not directly derived from that tradition it must at least be closely related to it. The introduction of the passage at this particular point was not the work of the *B40* compiler. The fact that it also appears in the *Ādi Sākhīs* and *Miharbān* analogues indicates that it was already attached to the story of Mula the Khatri in the *Q2* source. *AS*, pp. 76-77. *Mih JS* II. 163.

[465]He wore a symbolic combination of the garments and styles of both Hindu and Muslim ascetics.

[466]*kafaś*, *kośī*.

[467]*ṭeṛī* : the body from the waist downwards.

[468]*op* : a hat covering the ears and the back of the head.

[469]The Hindu sectarian mark on the forehead. The manner of dress here described may be compared with the four descriptions offered by the *Purātan* janam-sakhis. *Pur JS*, pp. 25, 78, 90, 98. Macauliffe i. 58, 147, 163, 174. See also *Mih JS* II. 163.

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replied in the manner of Hindus and to Muslims in the Muslim manner. [Throughout] the world he established an abiding faith in God. If anyone came to him [that person] went away filled with joy. [Baba Nanak] revealed to the world a wise and enlightened belief [concerning] the remembrance of God.[470] He established dharamsalas throughout the world and inculcated [the virtues of remembrance of] the divine Name, charity, bathing, mercy, and the performance of one's appointed duties (*dharma*). [He would say], "Son, if anyone is my Sikh let him remain firmly rooted in three things. In what three things ? In the divine Name,
100b charity and bathing."[471] The Name of Nanak was repe-

[470] *paramesar kā simran. GNSR*, pp. 214-19.

[471] *nām dān isnān,* the three-fold assonant formula which, with other such formulae, distinguishes the *Narrative III* tradition. Earlier in this same excursus it is used in an extended form : *nām dān isnān daiā dharam.* The three-fold form was evidently used by Guru Nanak himself (*Siddh Goṣṭ* 36, *AG* p. 942), and subsequently by both Guru Arjan (*AG*, pp. 74, 740) and Bhai Gurdas (*BG* 1 : 14, 5 : 13, 11 : 3, 29 : 2). The first constituent, *nām,* refers to the divine Name and enjoins the practice of regular meditation on the divine Name (*nām simaran*) which is so strongly emphasised in Nanak's own works. *GNSR*, pp. 214-19. The second constituent, *dān,* prescribes alms-giving as a necessary part of the Sikh's religious duty. (Cf. *Ā'in* III. 282-83.) The third, *isnān* (*snān*), means "bathing" but out of context does not indicate whether the word is to be construed as a ritual injunction to bathe in a literal sense, or as a command to preserve moral purity. The latter meaning was probably intended by Guru Nanak and Guru Arjan, but the janam-sakhi contexts make it clear that for the narrators, if not for the entire seventeenth-century community, the word was generally understood in a literal sense.

Although the *B40* compiler usually adheres to the simple three-fold form in recording his *Narrative III* material he sometimes expands it in the manner indicated above. In addition to *nām dān isnān daiā dharam* he also uses *nām dān isnān sach* (folios 157b, 162b) and in one place combines both extended forms to give *nām dān isnān sach daiā dharam* (folio 170a). In another place he significantly substitutes *simaran* for *nām,* thereby indicating the meaning which should be attached to *nām* (*simaran dān isnān,* folio 125b). An interesting variant which appears in material from a different source is *sabad sākhī daiā maiā dhan dān nām isnān sach tai tīrath* (folio 46b). Other such variants also appear in late portions of the *Mīharbān* tradition. *Mih JS* II. 35, 65, 248, 329, 364, 367, 440 ; also II. 178, 223.

Inevitably the formula receded in importance as the Khalsa code of discipline rose to ascendancy. It has not, however, disappeared completely. Kahn Singh, writing during the first quarter of the present century, describes it as 'the basic creed of Sikhism' (*Gurumat Martaṇḍ*, vol. 2, p. 636) and elsewhere declares that 'all the creeds of the Sikh religion are inherent in *nām dān isnān* as the form of a tree is inherent in its seed.' (*MK*, p. 522.) His definitions of the three constituents may be paraphrased as follows. *nām* : always to remember God and by repeating His Name, to fulfil its meaning. *dān* : so to equip yourself independent of all ; to give to others and never to beg. *isnān* : to maintain purity of mind, body, clothing, house, and conduct that both body and soul may remain healthy. *Gurumat Martaṇḍ*, vol. 2, p. 636.

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ated[472] throughout the world. "Praise be to Nanak !" cried [the people]. "Praises upon Baba Nanak !"

"[473]Son Angad," said Baba Nanak [one day], "there is a certain acquaintance of mine, a worldly fellow. When I myself followed a worldly way of life[474] this person, Mula the Khatri,[475] was my friend. If possible I should like to see him [again]."

And so Baba Nanak, wearing the dress of faqir and accompanied by *laṅgoṭ-band* [sadhus][476] went and stood at the threshold of Mula the Khatri's house. Mula's wife was the first to see Baba Nanak and she recognised him. Having recognised him she withdrew inside to where Mula was sitting. "That [man] of God who was your friend—someone
101a has beaten him," [she said]. "He is in a sorry condition. He used to come mounted, [but] now he comes [on foot], robbed and in tatters. He has come to beg something from you. Stay hidden just now."

In the meantime Baba [Nanak] had come [through the courtyard to the house] and was standing at the door. [Mula] was hiding in the house. "Where is Mula ?" Baba Nanak asked Mula's wife.

"Sir, he is not in the house," she replied. "He has gone to some village or other."

"[So] he is not in the house," said Baba [Nanak and she answered, "No."

"Alas worthless[477] merchant[478] !" cried Baba [Nanak]. "I came to visit you and now you have concealed [yourself]."

Guru Baba [Nanak] then recited a shalok :[479]

[472]*japiai*, from *japṇā*.

[473]This anecdote is analysed in *ESṬ*.

[474]The narrator presumably means that whereas Baba Nanak once lived the life of a householder (*grahasthi*), he now follows the way of celibacy and asceticism. This comment, together with the subsequent references to Nanak's dress and to *laṅgoṭband* companions, suggests that the anecdote owes its origin to an ascetic tradition within the Sikh *panth*, possibly to Udasi sadhus. See note 408.

[475]A latter tradition locates Mula the Khatri in Sialkot. *NPr* II. 38 (59). Mula the Khatri should not be confused with Mula Chona, Nanak's father-in-law.

[476]*laṅgoṭ-band* : 'one with a tied loin', i. e. a celibate ascetic. Babur was evidently impressed by the prevalence of the *laṅgoṭ* when he entered northern India.

Peasants and people of low standing go about naked. They tie on a thing called *lungūtā*, a decency-clout which hangs two spans below the navel. From the tie of this pendant decency-clout another clout is passed between the thighs and made fast behind. —*Bābur-nā*

[477]*saiyādā* (*śahizādā*) : 'son of a king', i. e. one who loafs, one who ha to do.

[478]*karār* : merchant, trader, shopkeeper.

[479]*Surplus Shaloks* 21, *AG* p. 1412.

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They who fraternise with merchants[480] squander their affection.[481]

Foolish one![482] None knows whence Death shall come (and carry him off).

Having said this he departed.

When baba Nanak had left [the courtyard Mula] the
101b merchant came out [of hiding]. "Has he gone?" he asked [his wife, and she] replied, "He has gone."

"Alas, worthless woman!" he cried. "I shall be held responsible [for this disrespect]. I am disgraced.[483] Which way did he go?" he added, [to which she answered "There were faqirs with him—some *laṅgoṭ-band* [sadhus].

He laid out a string-bed and collapsed on it. People came to see him. "Nanak came here," [they said], "and [Mula] did not receive him. [Instead] he hid and now he is dying. Having insulted an Exalted One he is dying of shame."[484]

They carried him to Baba Nanak on the string-bed. Standing humbly [before him they said], "Sir, he was forgetful. He has been punished by you so now let him be forgiven.

"He cannot survive," answered Guru Baba [Nanak]. He has been struck down by the power [of God]. But because at the end he had *darśhan*[485] he has obtained salvation.

Taking [him] up from the place [where he lay] they carried [him] to [his] house. The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi
102a follows: [How] Baba [Nanak] ji commenced a course of austerities.[486]

ILLUSTRATION 24

102b [BABA NANAK'S DAILY DISCIPLINE][487]

Baba Nanak constructed a platfrom [and on this] he built

[480]*karār*. The meaning intended by Guru Nanak is 'traders in worldly merchandise' (as opposed to 'spiritual merchandise'), money-grubbers, those who devote their energies to the acquisition of worldly wealth instead of to the service of God.

[481]*AG*: 'nurture falsehood, [for such friendship must be founded on] falsehood.'

[482]*mūliā*.

[483]Made light of weight.

[484]Lit. 'He is under the influence (*khtāl*) of an Exalted One (*mahā-purukh*).'

[485]Because he beheld Baba Nanak before actually expiring.

[486]*tapaslā* (*tapas*, *tap*). See note 345.

[487]The next two sakhis continue the *Narrative IIb* ("Ascetic Ideal") material which began with sakhis 20-21 and which resumed, after an intervening cluster of

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a small cell[488] with a door facing the sun.[489] Having contructed this door Baba Nanak installed [another] door facing the south, through which a man might enter by stooping. The place where Baba [Nanak] sat was a platform of loose stones[490] on which was spread a mat of dry grass. [On this] Baba [Nanak] sat. A rabab-player would sing *kīrtan* and the disciples *(saṅgat)* sat nearby. For as long as Baba [Nanak] remained seated the rabab-player sang *kīrtan*. The disciples sat nearby, and for as long as the rabab-player remained seated he continued to sing *kīrtan*. When Baba [Nanak] was no longer listening[491] the rabab-player would sing the *Āratī Sohilā*.[492] When he had sung the *Āratī Sohilā* there would come [from Baba Nanak] the command : "Go aside, [my] disciples, and sleep." The Sikhs would then go to sleep [and there would be so many of them that their sleeping bodies would occupy space] covering a considerable distance.

Narrative IIa anecdotes, with sakhi 25. Although in the English translation each sakhi has been divided into only two sub-sakhis, there are in fact ten distinct elements contained within the two *B40* sakhis.

1. Baba Nanak's cell and platform : Baba Nanak and his Sikhs listen to *kīrtan* (102b).
2. Baba Nanak's discipline of bathing and prostration (103a-b).
3. The communal meal arrangement (103b-104a).
4. Praise of Baba Nanak (104a).
5. The loyal fortitude of Angad (104a-105a).
6. Baba Nanak's service of praise and adoration (106a).
7. A problem arises as a result of Baba Nanak's enormous popularity (106a-b).
8. A discourse with Gorakhnath and Angad concerning the necessity of restricting one's company to the spiritually mature (106b-108a).
9. Baba Nanak tests his Sikhs in order to eliminate all but the truly loyal (108a-109b).
10. Baba Nanak feigns madness (109b-110a).

The *Ādi Sākhīs* compiler, following the same *Q2* source, groups all ten elements within a single composite sakhi. *AS*, pp. 78-84.

[488]*khuḍī* : niche, cavity, hollow space. The illustration accompanying the sakhi (folio 102a) depicts a solid structure approximately seven feet high.

[489]Facing the east, the direction of the rising sun. Cf. the direction of his prostrations on folio 103a.

[490]*rorā*. It is presumably this tradition which Bhai Gurdas incorporates in the line quoted in note 349.

[491]When he wished to go to the river to bathe.

[492]*Āratī* is the title commonly attached to Guru Nanak's shabad *Dhanāsarī* 4-1-7-9 (*AG*, pp. 13, 663), a hymn which offers a characteristic reinterpretation of the Hindu *āratī* ceremony. *Sohilā* is similarly the title of another of his shabads, *Gaurī Pūrbī Dīpakī* 4-1-20 (*AG*, pp. 12, 157), a title which derives from the second line of the shabad: (Contd. on next page)

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103a Then Baba [Nanak] would arise and go to the river. The others having gone to sleep [only] one, Guru Angad, would accompany him. [His routine was as follows]. Guru Baba [Nanak] went and stood in the river. Having left his staff [on the bank] with his garment[493] upon it, and having donned his bathing-cloth,[494] he plunged into the river. Baba [Nanak] then stood in the current. When the sun had fully risen he emerged. Having done so he tied the bathing-cloth on his head and put on a dry loin-cloth.[495] Then he prostrated once towards the sun, bringing his topknot down to his feet. [Next] he prostrated once towards the west, laying his head on his feet [in a posture so difficult that] he felt pain in his chest. Then, he prostrated towards the south [and finally towards the north]. Having performed all four prostrations he wound one length of cloth around
103b lower part of his body and another over the upper part.

When he had dressed Angad came and prostrated himself. "Enough, [my] man," said Baba [Nanak]. "You will receive blessing."

Baba [Nanak] then went from there to a certain place and sat on stones under a tree. [His] Sikhs, when they heard this, came and prostrated themselves [before him]. When food was ready the cook came and stood in silence, and when Baba [Nanak] observed him he asked, "Is the food ready, [my], man ?"

"It is ready, Lord," replied the cook. Baba [Nanak] then

(Contd.....)

titu ghari gāvahu sohilā sivarihu sirajanhāro. The composite term *Āratī Sohilā* (or, more commonly, *Kīrtan Sohilā*) designates a group of five shabads recorded as a part of the introductory portion of the Adi Granth and regulary recited by devout Sikhs immediately before retiring at night. The selection is also incorporated in the Sikh funeral liturgy. *Sikh Rahit Maryādā* (Amritsar, 1961), pp. 11, 29. In addition to the *Āratī* and the *Sohilā* the group includes Guru Nanak's *Āsā* 2-30 (*AG*, pp. 12-13, 357); Guru Ram Das's *Gaurī Pūrbī* 4-8-22 (*AG*, pp. 13, 171); and Guru Arjan's *Gaurī Pūrbī* 4-3-124 (*AG*, pp. 13, 205). The actual origin of the group's liturgical function is not known, but it seems clear that the practice must have been established by, or perhaps during, the time of Guru Arjan. The prominence accorded the five shabads by their inclusion as a group at the beginning of the Adi Granth (in addition to inclusion under their respective ragas) indicates that they must have been intended to serve some particular liturgical purpose. Cf. also *BG* 1:38. If the practice was established prior to the time of Guru Arjan the recitation may have included only the first two shabads (the *Sohilā* and the *Āratī*), or it may also have included the *Āsā* shabad. Another *B40* reference appears on folio 219a. The title *Kīrtan Sohilā* can be translated 'Hymns of Praise'.

[493] *chadar*, the 'length of ochre cloth' which he is said to have worn. See folio 100a.

[494] *aṅgochhā* : a towel or piece of cloth worn while bathing.

[495] *kupīn* : See note 80.

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took his seat in the cooking area[496] and gave the command, "Eat, [my] sons." He did not [himself] eat anything. He had only one kind of food. For a whole year he took nothing except a handful of sand and an ak pod.[497] This was Baba [Nanak's] food. The Sikhs [on the other hand] used to eat twice [a day]. Whatever food was desired by a
104a Sikh who was not an ascetic[498] that he received.

Many people gathered [there. The name] "Nanak, Nanak," was repeated throughout the world.[499] Vast crowds came and [both] Hindus and Muslims went away [spiritually] satisfied. "Praise be to Nanak !" everyone repeated. "Praise be to Nanak !" Whenever Baba [Nanak] went out [to other places] several thousand Sikhs would gather, [and likewise when he stayed at home several thousand Sikhs would assemble.

[THE LOYAL FORTITUDE OF GURU ANGAD]

One day Baba [Nanak] ji was bathing and Angad, who had already bathed, was sitting nearby. Baba [Nanak] was standing in the river. It was winter and as a result of the squalls and the rain which had descended it was exceedingly cold. Guru Angad suffered greatly from the cold and the rain. The clothes he was wearing were soaked with
104b rain. [Eventually] the cold overcame Guru Angad and losing consciousness he collapsed.

Having emerged [from the river], donned his clothing, and performed his prostrations, Baba [Nanak] went [to Angad, and] reaching him nudged him with his foot. When Baba [Nanak] nudged him Guru Angad regained consciousness. He was restored : The chill departed, he became warm, and sat up.

"Son Angad, what happened to you ?" asked Baba Nanak.

"Lord," replied Angad, "you know all things."

"But tell me what happened to you, son," said Baba [Nanak].

Sir, my clothing[500] was soaked with rain and I lost

[496]*rasoī* : 'food', or 'a place for cooking food'. In the latter sense it does not refer to a building but to an area plastered with mud and dung which may be inside or outside a building. See note 203.

[497]See note 348.

[498]*sansārī* : 'worldly', as opposed to a renunciant *sanyāsī*.

[499]This is evidently a reference to the practice of repeating a single sacred word or *mantra* as a devotional exercise, the word in this instance being the Guru's name. See note 587.

[500]*kavāī (qabā)* : a long gown.

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consciousness. I was aware of nothing that had happened—I had no knowledge [of it] at all."

105a "How are you now ?', asked Baba [Nanak].

"Because of you," answered [Guru Angad], "I now know that [my] spirits has been illumined by the light[501] of ten million suns, and that because of you warmth has been restored."

"Well, [my] son, are you comfortable now ?" asked Baba [Nanak and he] replied, "I am comfortable."

Baba [Nanak] then said, "This [austerity discipline] which I perform I do only for [my] Sikhs. I perform this service in your stead, son, [for] your body cannot endure its [rigour]. If anyone bears the title of Nanak-panthi[502] he will be saved."

It was after he had begun his ascetic discipline that Babaji met Gorakh[nath]. The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows.

105b ILLUSTRATION 25

106a [BABA NANAK'S ADORATION]

Baba Nanak would spread a cloth, sit on it, and commence a service[503] [of adoration]. "Beautiful is Thy Name !" he would go on repeating. "Beautiful is [Thy] countenance ! Beautiful is the hour [of meeting with Thee." Thus] he chanted, and danced, and [so] performed his service [of praise and adoration].

After [he had completed this routine] he would proceed to the dharamsala [where] he imparted great blessing to [his] Sikhs. If any Sikh brought anything [as an offering] he would not take it. All manner of people [came] to Baba [Nanak].[504] There were gianis[505] and bairagis, mendi-

[501] *balu* : lit. strength, power.

[502] 'A follower of Nanak's way', a disciple of Nanak, a Sikh. In practice the term is generally restricted to Sikhs of the pre-Khalsa period or to those of the later period who do not take the Khalsa vows.

[503] *sevā*. The customary preview announcement at the conclusion of the preceding sakhi (folio 105a) erroneously refers to Baba Nanak's activity on this occasion as an 'ascetic discipline' (*tapasiā*).

[504] In the catalogue of visitors to Baba Nanak some titles are given in the singular and others in the plural. For the English translation plural forms have been used in all cases.

[505] *giānī* (*jñānī*) : the possessor of *jañān*, a learned person. Th[illegible] as traditionally been accorded to Sikhs of recognised literary [illegible]s. Nowadays it is more commonly assumed by those who have passed the Giani examination (Intermediate Panjabi) of Panjab University, the equivalent of the Prabhakar examination in Hindi and Munshi Fazil in Urdu.

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cants and celibates,[506] Saivites[507] and Vaisnavas, brahmacharis and yogis, digambars, sanyasis, tapasis,[508] dudhadharis,[509] bhagats,[510] rabab-players,[511] virahis,[512] bhekhdharis[513] and hatha-yoga adepts,[514] faqirs, master dervishes and other Muslim holy men of various kinds,[515] scholars of Islamic learning,[516] Sufi pirs and prophets,[517] Hindus and Muslims, householders and renunciants,[518] princes and paupers,[519] rigorous celibates,[520] hathis and tapasis,[521]

[506] *batrāgī, udāsī, atīt.* See notes 332-33, 351, 408.

[507] *bhagavān muṇḍiā* : 'the God who wears a necklace of skulls'.

[508] See notes 329-31.

[509] Ascetics who subsist on milk alone.

[510] *bhagat (bhakta)* : a pious person, one who practises *bhagatī (bhaktī).*

[511] A rabab player. For rabab see note 82.

[512] 'One who is separated (*virah*) from worldly concerns', an ascetic.

[513] An ascetic who subsists on begging (*bhikh*).

[514] *sidh sādhak.* See note 127.

[515] Having listed several varieties of Hindu holy men the narrator turns to their Muslim counterparts. The title *faqīr* (lit. 'poor man') designates in the strict Sufi sense one who, having renounced all property and all desire, lives a life of resignation to the will of God. (*Enc Isl* (New ed.) II. 757.) In popular Punjabi usage the word retained a specific reference to Sufis but was also applied more generally to any person who acquired a reputation for renunciant piety. In this latter sense it is commonly applied by the janam-sakhis to Nanak himself. The second title in the catalogue of Muslim visitors, *darveś*, bears the same mendicant connotation as *faqīr* and is used in precisely the same way, both in its strict Sufi sense and in papular Punjabi parlance. The association of dervishes with whirling, barking, &c. properly applies only to certain orders of Sufis who have used dancing as a means of inducing ecstasy and who utter incoherent sounds while in the condition of frenzy. In this *B40* context the adjective *kāmal* ('perfect' or 'master') has been prefixed to *darveś.*

To these two common titles the narrator has added four more which in the English translation are collectively rendered 'other Muslim holy men of various kinds'. These are : (1) *sabar.* (2) *gaus* (*ghaus*). (3) *aulīā* (*auliyā*, the plural of *valī*). (4) *ambīā (ambiyā*', lit. 'prophets', the plural of '*nabī*'). The first of these is not entirely clear. As a noun referring to a particular kind of person *sabar* normally denotes a savage, and specifically a member of the Bhil tribe. This can hardly be the meaning intended in this passage. The word is presumably the Arabic *sabr.* 'patience', designating holy men distinguished by their serenity.

[516] The translation 'scholars of Islamic learning' covers three titles given in the text, all of them referring to varieties of Muslim scholar. (1) *ulamāu* (*ulamā*). (2) *fāzal* (*fāzil*). (3) *khojīvādī* (*khojī*, 'seeker', plus *bādī*, 'speaker' or 'sage').

[517] *pīr pikambar,* loosely bracketted to cover Muslim holy men of exalted spiritual status. The title *pīr*, 'elder', strictly denotes the founder or incumbent 'spiritual director' (*murshid*) of a Sufi order; and *pikambar* is a corrupt form of *paighambar*, 'prophet' or 'apostle'.

[518] *grahatī* (*grahastī* or *grahasthī*) and *udāsī.* See note 408.

[519] *rāja rank.*

[520] *jatī satī.*

[521] *haṭhī* : an exponent of hatha-yoga. *tapsī* : an ascetic, one who undergoes extreme austerities (*tapasyā*). See note 345.

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Khatris, Brahmans and Shudras,[522] pandits, bards and poets
106b of renown, men of virtue—all and sundry came ! If anyone came with a wish his wish was fulfilled. Everyone who came with a desire had it fulfilled. Throughout the world [people devoutly repeated], "Nanak, Nanak." All kinds of people came to see [him] and went away [satisfied].

[A DISCOURSE WITH GORAKHNATH : BABA NANAK SEEKS SOLITUDE]

One day Baba [Nanak's] spirit was grieved and to all he announced, "I have met so many people of this world. Let me leave them and dwell apart. [Here] there is the tumult of great numbers. What is there for me to obtain in the world ? I shall go apart from the world, in seclusion and in hiding, and remaining [there I shall] meditate on God."

[But] wherever Baba [Nanak] went to hide, there several thousand people would gather. The name of Baba Nanak was every where blazed abroad.[523] If he stayed at any place for [even] a short time thousands would flock there to see him.

Once Baba [Nanak] slipped out while the people were
107a asleep and whom should he see but Sri Gorakh [nath] sitting alone. No one was with him. With Baba [Nanak] was Angad, and Baba [Nanak] asked him, "Do you know who this is, son ?"

"Sir, it appears that you know [who he is]," answered [Angad cautiously].

"Well answered, [my] son !" said Baba [Nanak]. "This is Sri Gorakhnath. But you wait [here]. This is Gorakh the Ascetic (*avadhūt*). It would not be right for you to approach him."

"Let the boy come, Sri Nanak," said Gorakhnath. "He is your companion. Let him come too."

"Adesh, Sri Gorakh ! "said Baba [Nanak]. "Adesh ! Hail to the Primal Immaculate Being !"[524]

"Sri Nanak," replied Sri Guru Gorakh [nath], "you are a great person, but have you been able to find a companion ?"[525]

[522] *sūd vansu*. The *Ādi Sākhīs* version has *sūd vais*, 'Shudras and Vaishyas'. *AS*, p. 81.

[523] *svarag prithvī pātāl*, in heaven, on earth, and in the underworld.

[524] *ādi nirañjan purukh kau ādes*. See note 432.

[525] Baba Nanak's question evidently derives from the word *sāthī* ('companion') which occurs in the shalok attributed to Gorakhnath on folio 107b. The brief discourse which follows has apparently been developed from this shalok.

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"You are the Guru of the eighty-four aeons (*yuga*),"[526] [answered Baba Nanak, "and yet] *you* have found no one. I am a sinful[627] man. Where can *I* find [a companion] ?"

107b "I have searched throughout the four ages until exhausted," admitted Sri Gorakhnath, "but I have found no companion."

"What service [should] a companion [perform] and what power should he have ?" asked Baba [Nanak]. Sri Gorakhnath replied by reciting a shalok.

No one has a companion like the *man*, and there is no disciple like the Guru.
There is no guru as powerful as the *sabad*[628] and so Gorakh wanders alone.

"Nanak," [he continued], "one [chooses] one's companions in accordance with [the impulse of] one's *man*. [The *man* and its chosen companion] understand each other and so they are called companions. As is the guru, so is the desciple [and when he is like his guru] he is called a disciple. This is the Word of a sadhu, that he who follows the discipline of the divine Word (*sabad*) acquires such [spiritual] power that he can be called a [spiritual] hero. If he acquires this [status], Nanak, he can be taken as a companion. If however, the guru does not know his follower's [spiritual status] it would be a mistake to take him as a disciple. Without this [assurance] it is better to remain alone."

108a Guru Baba [Nanak] then said to Angad, "Son bid farewell to Sri Gorakhnath and go. I am coming."

In accordance with Baba [Nanak's] command Angad bade farewell to Sri Gorakhnath. "Peace be with you, child," said Sri Gorakhnath. "You will be blessed." Having paid his respects *(namaskār)* and bidden farewell *(ādes)*, and having received a blessing, Angad departed.

Baba [Nanak] then asked [Gorakhnath], "Wherever I I appear many people come to me. They will not stop

[526]There are only four *yugas*, as the narrator acknowledges on folio 107b. The correct reading should presumably be *yoni*, in which case the reference would be to the eighty-four lakhs of incarnations (*chaurāsī lakh yoni*) which Hindu tradition accords each *jīva*.

[527]*mal mū dhārī*, from *mal* (excreta) and *mutr* (urine). The narrator is evidently looking forward to the shabad which appears on folio 110a.

[528]*Śabad*, normally translated in this work as 'the divine Word', is here left untranslated as the shalok in which it occurs is attributed to Gorakhnath. This s that in this context the term should be construed in its Nath sense as the mystical 'sound' which is 'heard' at the climax of the hatha-yoga technique. *GNSR*, p. 191. For *man* see ibid, pp. 178-81.

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following me. What can be done about this ? How can they be eluded ?"

"Do one thing," replied Sri Gorakhnath, "and they will all go away." [He then suggested a plan whereby Nanak might escape from his persistent disciples and admirers].

When night fell Baba [Nanak] returned home [and next morning] he issued ploughs to [his] Sikhs, [saying], "Plough this land, [my] sons." And he restricted the preparation of
108b meals, [saying], "Eat [only] once a day." [When they heard this] several Sikhs departed, but others remained.

"There are still too many, "said Baba [Nanak, and to his cook] he added, "Do not give them food even once a day, son. Give one *sirasāhī*[529] of barley grain. And my command [to you all] is that you should hoe the ground."

When they heard that food had been forbidden more sikhs took to their heels. Only a few remained. "These [Sikhs] have accepted death and have remained." Said Baba [Nanak], "Hoe the ground and come home, sons." To the cook he issued the order : "Prepare the most delicious of foods[530] for my Sikhs to eat."

In the meantime instructions have been given that the ripened crop[531] should be harvested. "Harvest [the crop,
109a my] sons, and stack it on threshing-floors." In accordance with his command the Sikhs brought the crop to the threshing-floors. Returning to the Guru and standing [before him they said], "Master, the crop has been laid on the threshing-floors."

"Come," answered Baba [Nanak], "let us go and see the threshing-floors."

The Sikhs accompanied the Guru who, when he reached the threshing-floors, stood and surveyed them. He was very pleased. "Well done, my sons ! Your efforts have been crowned with success. Thanks to your fine efforts the crop has grown and the threshing-floors are haped with grain. But sons, there is another thing which I should like you to do."

"Lord, we shall do whatever you desire," they replied. "We are as nothing."

"What have I to do with such cupidity, sons ! "said Guru

[529] *sirasāhī*, or *sarasāhī* : a jeweller's unit of weight, variously computed at **2-2½** *tolās*. (1 *tolā*=approx. 200 grains troy.)

[530] *chhatrī amrit bhojan* : the conventional 'thirty-six delicacies'. n Gurbakhsh Singh Kesari, *Sankhtā Koś* (Ludhiana, 1961), p. 226. See also *MK*, p. 363.

[531] *sākh* (*śāk*, *sāg*) : any edible leaf, fruit, herb, &c; greens; crop.

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Baba [Nanak]. "Set fire to the grain."

109b "But we have harvested the crop with great difficulty", protested [a Sikh]. "Why must we now set fire [to it] with our own hand ?"

[Nevertheless], in accordance with the command they set it alight and getting up departed with Baba [Nanak]. When Baba [Nanak] looked back [he observed that] only a few Sikhs were following [him]. The Guru then performed a sham act [to test] the Sikhs who remained. He took [those] steadfast ones further on. Having fastened a dagger at his side,[532] he took them two *kos* further, [at which point] all who were [with him] took flight. None could stop [them]. "Nanak was a noble faqir", everyone declared, "but now he acts like a mad man. He was a noble faqir, a master dervish."

Baba [Nanak then] sang a composition in *Vaḍahamsā* raga.[533]

Rāg Vaḍahamsa

110a One dog and two bitches ![534]
Each morning they spring up and seek
persistently [to torment me].[535]
Falsehood is my dagger and violently I slay.
Wealth is a curse, O God ![536]
I have not studied to win [Thy] approval, nor have I
performed any meritorious deed.[537] 1.

Thy Name alone can save the world;
This is my hope and stay. *Refrain*

Day and night I malign [my neighbours];
Like a low-caste [theif] I watch other men's houses.

[532]The clumsy introduction of a dagger into the narrative and the subsequent accusation of insanity derive from the shabad which follows the accusations.

[533]The shabad is not in *Vaḍahams* raga. It is *Sirī Rāgu* 29, *AG* p. 24.

[534]The 'dog' is generally interpreted as man's avarice and the two 'bitches' as 'hunger and thirst', or man's desire. *Śabadārath* i. 24, notes 16, 17.

[535]*AG* : *bhalake bhaukahi*, 'bark persistently'.

[536]*AG* : *dhānak rūpi rahā karatār*. 'I am [like the] Dhanak, O God.' For the Dhanak, a depressed hunter and scavenger caste, see D. Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes* Lahore, 1916), pp. 295-96.

[537]In the Adi Granth version this last line of the first stanza is the first line of the refrain. It is followed in the Adi Granth version by a line which has been omitted from the *B40* version:

hau bigarai rūpi rahā bikarāl
Grotesque and hideous is my appearance.

The Adi Granth refrain then concludes with the two lines which alone constitute the refrain in this janam-sakhi version.

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The foul wretches[538] lust and anger dwell [within me].[539]
Wealth is a curse, O God ![536] 2.

[540][Of Thy] deeds I know nothing, [O Lord,] living instead on the fruits of my own misdeeds.
How can I, an abominable thief, show myself [in Thy presence] ?
Nanak the lowly has reflected [and so he] speaks :
I have not studied to win [Thy] approval, nor have I performed any meritorious [deed].[541] 3.

Thy Name alone can save the world ;
This is my hope and stay. 4. *Refrain*

[There now follows] Baba Nanak's discourse with Ajitta Randhava.[542]

110b

ILLUSTRATION 26

111a

[A DISCOURSE WITH AJITTA RANDHAVA]

[543]"[My] Lord, is this your status and insignia, or do you have other status and insignia ?" [asked Ajitta Randhava].

[538]*chaṇḍāl* : a generic term designating the lowest of the outcaste groups.

[539]*AG* : *tani*, 'within [my] body'.

[540]In the Adi Granth version this is the fourth stanza. The *B40* version has omitted the Adi Granth's third stanza and as a fourth stanza has repeated the refrain.

[541]The copyist has here repeated by mistake the last line of the first stanza, omitting the last word (*kāru*). The pattern he has been following indicates that he should instead have repeated the line *dhan krop rahai karatāru*, 'Wealth is a curse, O God !'

[542]The Randhavas are a Jat *got*, particularly prominent in the districts of Gurdaspur and Amritsar, and in contiguous areas. (Ibbetson, op. cit., p. 124.) Bhai Gurdas, in his list of Guru Nanak's leading disciples (*BG* 11:14), refers briefly to a Jitta Randhava who is generally assumed to be the same person as the Ajitta Randhava of the *B40* and *Bālā* janam-sakhis. In two subsequent sakhis the *B40* compiler, following a different source (*Narrative III*), has written Jitta Randhava (folios 172a-76b). Wherever it occurs in this *Narrative III* cluster a later hand has amended it to read Ajitta. A relatively late tradition describes him as the headman (*chaudharī*) of Pakho village. *MK*, p. 36. *NPr II*. 29 (39). For Pakho see notes 324, 339.

[543]The introductory portion of the discourse is missing. There are, however, no folios missing from the manuscript at this point and it can accordingly be assumed that the compiler was using an incomplete source. Although the discourse is confused and much of it difficult to translate its purport is generally clear. From a reference which appears on folio 115a it is evident that th[illegible]olemical work which is intended to support the claims of a particular person or succession to the title of Guru within the Sikh panth. The distinctive emphasis which are made by its author are those of a pronounced asceticism and of adher-

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[Baba Nanak] replied, "According to the Guru the Master is he who has entered the [four] aeons in the garb of men.[544] He will remain distinct [from other men]."

Shalok[545]

Assuming the garb [of men] he entered the [cycle of aeons, uniting all in a common [brotherhood].
The lamp shone in the darkness ! Says Nanak : They who have no faith know not the inner mystery. 1.

"It is the Guru who [has come] in this garb", said [Baba Nanak, and continued] :

Shalok

Thou art the Primal Being, the transcendent Creator, Thou alone the omniscient One.
Thou remainest beyond all utterance and art influenced by the company of none. 2.

Who can ever tell Thy lineage or birth, Thy status or insignia, or when Thou didst come !
None can question Thy existence; Thou art above all pleasure and pain. 3.

Thy dwelling place is the infinite heavens, Thy cry [beautiful] like that of the heron.
Says Nanak, Now is wonder born ! Rare is the sadhu
111b who comprehends the true meaning. 4.

"Bhai Ajitta, in the time of the ninth incarnation[546] a

ence to the doctrine of hatha-yoga. This distinguishes it from the characteristic doctrines of the Adi Granth and indicates that its origins are heretical as well as schismatic. The discourse is one of several indications scattered through the janam-sakhis and subsequent Sikh tradition of a prolonged seventeenth-century controversy concerning the rightful line of claimants to the title of Guru within the Panth. It is not clear which claimant or line is here represented. The heretical doctrines and lack of characteristic expository material suggest that it could hardly have been the work of the Minas.

[544]The plural 'men' is indicated, not 'a man'. This refers to the popular belief, expressed in the janam-sakhis, that Nanak was the last and greatest of a series of divine messengers, one being sent into each *yuga*. Raja Janak of Mithila is commonly named by early Sikh writers as the messenger of the Treta-yuga, and in some manuscripts Baba Nanak, the messenger of the Kali-yuga, is said to be an actual reincarnation of Janak.

[545]The shaloks which follow are not in the Adi Granth.

[546]*jāmā*, 'garb'. This plainly refers to the ninth Guru, Tegh Bahadur, and must accordingly date from the late seventeenth century or, more likely, from the eighteenth.

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most significant change will take place."

Shalok

He holds the reins firmly in His hands; when He pulls them [man] speaks.
The whole world has fallen into ignorance and fear, but He is incomparable, steadfast. 5.

Clad in eternity He dwells apart.
Says Nanak: A hundred thousand ages have passed [But He has] neither limit nor ending. 6.

He who does not believe [the words which] proceed from the mouth [of God] wanders in confusion.
They who seek the infinite Word (*sabad*) merge in union with the true Word. 7.

In the heavens, on the earth, in the oceans—every stage [of life] is His and every place His place.
[This is] the palace of the divine Name, Nanak; the four-fold blessed and infinite Name ! 8.

Then he said :

Many incarnations of Ram have been born from God and have been reabsorbed into Him.
Innumerable Krisnas[647] [have been created by] Brahma during the course of many aeons. 9.

Folio 112 is an interpolation (folio 107 in the Arabic pagination). It is written in a different hand, it includes shaloks which are repeated on folio 113a, and unlike the remainder of the discourse with Ajitta Randhava it provides a commentary on each of the shaloks which it quotes.

This interpolated folio raises several difficulties. These arise from the following features. First, it continues on from folio 111b without a break, even providing the remainder of a word which begins at the very end of folio 111b. Secondly, although folio 113a does not appear to follow 112b, neither does it follow folio 111b. There is material amounting to two lines of text missing between the conclusion of folio 111b and the beginning of folio 113a, and both folios have the full complement of sixteen lines. Had there been spaces for these two lines on either folio 111b or folio 113a it could have been safely assumed that the extra folio, number 112, had simply been interpolated at some later date by someone who recognised that it dealt with the same material as folios 111 and 113. There are, however, no such spaces.

The fact that only two lines are missing between folios 111b and 113a would seem to suggest, at first sight, that there could not have been an original folio numbered 112. That there are only 32 lines and not thirty-four seems evident from the fact that the last line of folio 111b

[647] *mādho krishan murār.* Madhu (-sudana) and Murari are epithets of Krisna.

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begins a shalok which should bear the serial number 10, and that this number appears at the beginning of the first line of folio 113a.

On the other hand, we must acknowledge the extreme unlikelihood of the original copyist having conveniently omitted the number 112 when adding folio numbers to his manuscript. This consideration would suggest that there must in fact have been an original folio numbered 112 which was subsequently lost or deliberately withdrawn. A possible explanation is that this original folio was an exception to the rule as far as commentary is concerned, and that following shalok 10 it recorded an exegetical note covering the remainder of the folio. The number 10 which appears at the beginning of folio 113a would, in this event, mark the end of the exegetical note, as in the case of the commentary given on the existing folio (112b). A later reader may have taken exception to the theology of the original commentator and decided to expurgate the manuscript. This he could have done by substituting another folio bearing the number 112. The Arabic number 107 would, of course, have been added much later when the entire manuscript was renumbered with Arabic numerals. (See Introduction pp. 4-5). The nature of the commentary given at the foot of folio 112b indicates that this later reader understood "worldly attachment" to include the life of the married householder (a view which Guru Nanak himself had rejected) and it is possible that his desire to introduce this view in place of another less extreme interpretation may have been responsible for the removal of the original folio.

This is, however, conjectural, and it is open to an obvious objection. If a substitute folio were to have been written to replace the original the person responsible for it would presumably have attempted to connect the conclusion of his substitute with the beginning of folio 113a. Whatever the explanation, there can be no doubt that there has been some considerable confusion in the recording of this entire discourse. A shalok which appears on folio 111b (no. 7) is repeated on folio 113b (no. 16); and on folio 115a-b there appear two shaloks (nos. 31 and 32) which have already been quoted on folio 113a (nos. 11 and 12). These same two shaloks are also quoted on the interpolated folio 112 where the two are combined in a single shalok, (f. 112b, no. 11).

The translation of the existing folio 112 is as follows. The first three and a half words (*dar daravāṇ karahi b)* appear at the foot of folio 111b.

112a Many stand guard at His door, [a host]
unnumbered and beyond computing.
Says Nanak: the whole world is sunk in the
love of false worldly attachment. 10.

The exegesis [of this shalok is as follows]: [548]

What does it mean that [they] took birth from God and were reabsorbed into Him? God is [here] the Guru. The Guru causes [them] to be born and the Guru it is who causes them to be reabsorbed. [It is the Guru] who at various times caused [the name of] Ram to be repeated, who in various ages caused [men to seek] union with Brahma, and who in sundry ages caused [the name of] Krisna to be repeated.

And so He staged [His] drama. Who are those who [illegible] His door? Many bhagats, many servants (*sevak*), many saints (*aulīyā*) stand guard at His door. And what is that door? The

[548]See note 36.

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door is the divine Word (*śabad*). They are in attendance at that door. Day and night they stand [there] calling [His Name][549] so that He may eventually appear at that door and reveal Himself in order that they may obtain salvation.

But even they do not know at what time the Infinite One will come.
112b And this world is a deception. It is created out of *māyā* and the love of worldly things.[550] Thus it is [unstable], sometimes sinking, sometimes rising. Nanak says :

The whole world is sunk in the love of false attachment. 10.

Shalok

Dwelling in tranquillity, beyond all desire, Bihangam[551] gazes [upon His creation] and is filled with joy.

Many, caught in the snares of *māyā* and worldly attachment, have set themselves up as gurus. The True Guru annihilates [them]; what He commands cannot be contravened.

Muslims praise and magnify the greatness of the True One.

Says Nanak : Darkness Has fallen, [but fear not for] the power of God is beyond comprehending. 11.

The exegesis [of this shalok is as follows] :

The condition [of tranquillity] is the Guru and Bihangam is the divine Name (*nām*). *Māyā* is worldly attachment. The life of the householder [with his] family is a worldly life. Remain apart from this [life]. Be attached to nothing.

113a Dwelling in tranquillity, beyond all desire, Bihangam gazes [upon His creation] and is filled with joy.

Many, caught in the snares of *māyā* and worldly attachment, make proud pretensions to the status of supreme Guru. 11.

The True Guru annihilates [them] ; what He commands cannot be contravened.

Muslims praise the Shari'at. [Praise is due to] the greatness of the True One.

Says Nanak : darkness has fallen, [but fear not for] the power of Allah is beyond comprehending. 12.

Niranjan is the Master ; every place is beneath His sway. None there be who can approach Him.

[549]Faithfully and regularly they maintain the discipline of *nām simaran*. The commentator's understanding of *nām simaran* appears to be the mechanical repetition of a name of God, in this particular case the name Hari.

[550]In Guru Nanak's usage, followed by this anonymous commentator in his exegetical supplement, *māyā* and 'the love of worldly things' (or 'the love of false worldly attachment') are synonymous. *GNSR*, pp. 185-87.

[551]*bihaṅgam, vihaṅg, vihaṅgam* : one who moves in the sky ; a bi t it represents God. It may be intended to represent God immanent, or it may be interpreted as 'the One devoid of desire'. *Śabadārath* i. 340, n.13.

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Having fashioned man with nine 'doors'[552] the Master remains concealed.[553] 13.

The 'tenth door'[554] is the dwelling-place of Brahma ; here is a mighty wonder !

Says Nanak : the Lord is ineffable, beyond understanding. Rare is the sadhu who has perceived [His presence] ! 14.

Ajitta Randhava asked : "True King, when you change this garb then after you have gone will your Sikhs shave their heads ?[555] And where will you reappear ?"[556]

113b There came the reply : "I utter nothing from my [own] mouth. What I utter is the divine Word [from God]."

Shalok

Those who believe the Guru to be other than God will die and be reborn in a new incarnation.

[Such a person may perform] many deeds and bring forth descendants, but he will not find [God and his deeds] will bear no fruit. 15.

The follower of the Guru who does not believe [the words which] proceed from the mouth [of God] wanders in confusion.

They who seek the infinite Word *(sabad)* merge in union with the true Word. 16.

He who is detached [from worldly concerns] takes flight [from all concerning this world, whether it be as insignificant as] the foot of an insect [or as mighty as] riding upon an elephant.[557]

Detached from the necessity of performing] good deeds, from [the obligations of] *dharma*, and from [the tempta-

[552]The nine natural orifices of the human body.

[553]Knowledge of the "tenth door" is required.

[554]*dasavā duāru (dasam duār, dasama dvāra) :* the 'tenth door', the mystical orifice which, according to hatha-yoga doctrine, is located near the top of the skull. See note 410.

[555]As a sign of mourning.

[556]Lit. 'Where will this from (*rūp*) be ?'

[557]This line is obscure. The words can be divided in different ways to give different meanings, and two key words (*ude* and *hasi*) can be translated in more ways than one. The word *bihaṅgam*, previously interpreted as a reference to God (see note 551) has here been understood as a reference to the ideal *sādhū* and t
'He who is detached [from worldly concerns].' The translation, like that of the entire line, is however uncertain. The line could also be rendered : 'The detached one lives like a bird, depending upon [the physical efforts of his own] feet and hands.'

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tions of] *māyā* he remains endlessly[558] absorbed [in God].
17.

All who emerge from the womb[559] are destroyed [by *māyā*] ;
their feet are manacled and bound
But when one becomes a devotee *(gusāī)* the light of Bihan-
gam shines in the firmament [of his soul] ;
And at the moment [of illumination] there comes ecstasy,
[the ecstasy of a love] like the koel's[560] passion for the
mango. 18.

Broken is the string of the rabab ; never will it sound
again,
In [the stillness of the soul's] firmament, Nanak, one
[mystically] meets [and merges with the Lord]. 19.

114a Baba, the first stage [in the spiritual life] is to comprehend
the divine Name.
To him who receives [the Name], Nanak, to him is given
salvation. 20.

Ajitta then asked : "True Lord, do you eat and drink ?"
He replied : "Where there is the Guru's sustenance, son,
no food or drink [is required]."

Shalok

Live [the inner life] within yourself and there will be no
[need of] eating or drinking.
I am totally detached from worldly concerns and dwell
absorbed in the True Guru. 21.

The divine Producer directs the [cosmic] drama ; The whole
world will be destroyed.
He who obeys the Guru will be saved, Nanak ; he whose
man is imbued with knowledge of the divine Word. 22.

The disciple, meditating inwardly, makes his petition to the
Guru.
Hari the Lord is the [divine] Producer [of this cosmic
drama] ; an empty husk[561] cannot be brought to [Him].
23.

[558] *āṭhi pahr :* [all] the eight watches, day and night.
[559] *bhag :* vagina. Cf. Beni, *Sirī Rāgu* 3, *AG* p. 93.
[560] *koil* (*koel, kokil, kokilā*). The Indian cuckoo *Cuculus indicus*. Its cry is believed to stimulate tender yearning in the hearer. In conjunction wit[illegible] is used as a conventional image representing man's desire for G[illegible]. Cf. *AG*, pp. 157, 455, 1108.
[561] *tohi* : 'separated', the husk from which the rice-grain has been removed, i.e. one who is without the divine Name.

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Ajitta then asked : "True Lord, then will these people
114b find salvation or not ?" There came the reply :

Shalok

An Infinite number of creatures, millions[562] of souls,
[All] will be cast into hell and [there] be tormented. 24.

To Dharmaraj[563] was given the command : 'Cast them into hell !'
These souls had hoped [to find] Brahma, [but] did not meditate on the True Guru. 25.

[Ajitta Randhava then asked] : "What were they doing,[564] these worldly[565] people ?" [Baba Nanak replied] :

Shalok

They were absorbed in *māyā*, in their own selfish interests, and in [the fascinations of] alluring women.
Says Nanak : their hope was not fulfilled and so they will go straight to hell. 26.

To the bhagats there came the command : 'Seize this priceless treasure.'
[These] men of Truth came into the world and held up [before the people] the ineffable Name. 27.

The lamp of the divine Word was kindled ; sin began to recede.
Cut off from the Word of the Guru the blind gather [in only] falsehood. 28.

115a Seizing the touchstone of lust they found their satisfaction in the company of women.
Nanak cries out : [such people] could never have found the Lord. 29.

Ajitta then asked : "True Lord, the whole creation[566] [caught in the weary round of transmigration], has returned [to the place] from where it came.[567] Will those who have

[562]Lit. two hundred million.
[563]The god of the dead in his role as divine arbiter of the fate of each individual. Shashibhusan Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 269.
[564]Lit. 'What game was being played.'
[565]Lit. 'food and water.'
[566]*chhināval karorī ka biju :* 'the ninety-six crores of seeds', i.e. all living things ; the whole creation.
[567]All continue to revolve in the cycle of transmigration, without finding the means of escape.

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read your shabads and the accounts of your life *(sākhī)*, who sang them and who heard them—will they suffer [the same fate] or not ?" There came the reply :

Shalok

No one appears to have spiritual wisdom ; [even] bhagats, it seems, they are false.
They chant ragas, they sing raganis,[568] but none understands the will of the Guru.
Salvation in this life lies in repentance and in inward meditation.
Says Nanak : the Lord is boundless, ineffable ! By what power then can one reach Him ? 30.

[Then] he said : "Son, they will set up *manjīs*[569] in their houses and sit on them, but [for their hypocrisy and deceit] these people will be punished [by God]."

Shalok

115b Dwelling in tranquillity, beyond all desire, Bihangam gazes [upon His creation] and is filled with joy.
Many, caught in the snares of *māyā* and worldly attachment, make proud pretensions to the status of supreme Guru. 31.

The True Guru annihilates [them] ; what He commands cannot be contravened.
Muslims praise the Shari'at. [Praise is due to] the greatness of the True One.
Says Nanak : darkness has fallen, [but fear not for] the power of Allah is beyond comprehending. 32.

[Ajitta Randhava then asked] : "True Lord, will he who calls himself your sadhu receive any reward or not ?" There came the reply :

Shalok

If the Master bestows [His] grace love will take birth, and his heart will grow accustomed [to loving].

[568] 'Wives', i.e. modifications of the six primary ragas. Five or six [illegible] are enumerated for each *rāg*. Alain Denielou, *Northern Indian Music*, vo 4), pp. 9-10.

[569] A string-bed ; the 'throne' of a guru. The first part of the sentence may be paraphrased : 'Son, they will set themselves up gurus.'

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The drop is in the ocean and the ocean in the drop,[570] the water emerging and then merging [again] in the ocean. 33.

[They who are separated from God are] like a broken wing, a broken leaf, the broken branch of a mighty tree.
Says Nanak : when the world is consumed and recreated these [false] sadhus will wonder [what has overtaken them]. 34.

"Son, these souls will continue to transmigrate", [said Baba Nanak, and then continued] :

Shalok

116a This is the way of the Beneficent One, the One not born of woman ;
Clothing Himself in various forms the Ineffable One [yet] dwells apart. 35.

One is raw and another is ripe[571] ; only those who obey the Guru have found joy.
Nanak [declares] : he is separated [from Thee] whom Thou, [O God], choosest to cut off.[572] 36.

In a moment Thou dost create and in a moment destroy ; Thou art the fullness of joy and rapture.[573]
The creation of God [has been brought into being] that Thy servants [also] might take birth. 37.

He who has fallen at the feet of the True Guru has in this world[574] [been dyed in the fast] colour of the red poppy.[575]
Nanak, he who has put his trust [in the True Guru] shall

[570]The individual dwells in mystical union with God, and God dwells in the individual.

[571]Some are *manmukh* (followers of the dictates of their own erratic *man*) and some are *gurmukh* (followers of the Guru).

[572]The *manmukh* (as opposed to the *gurmukh*) is in the sorry condition of separation from God because God Himself has chosen to repudiate him.

[573]*rom* : the hair of the body. *rom rom* : erection of the body hair ; ecstatic rapture.

[574]Before physical death.

[575]Because it is fast the pigment of the red poppy (*lāl*, or *gule·lālā*) serves as a conventional symbol for the firmness of a faith which is attached to t
Name. It is contrasted with the fugitive pigment of the mádder (*kusumon*) which serves as a symbol of trust placed in fickle *māyā*, in the mutable things of the world.

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never tread the path of Death. 38.

Ajitta asked: "True Lord, is this what you mean, that from him who has put his faith in a sadhu the fear of Death has departed?" There came the reply: "He is a [true] sadhu who walks according to the dictates of Truth (*sādh*), who remains free from lust, who does not utter falsehood, and who does not slander others. The words of a sadhu are eternal."

116b *Shalok*

He who merges his heart in the eternal Word (*bachan*) of God.
Finds salvation in this world and feeds eternally upon the riches of God. 39.

"True Lord", [said Ajitta], "it has been a joy to discuss so many things."

"We have not been discussing 'things', son!" answered Baba [Nanak]. "This is divine wisdom (*guramati*). The man who, from the depths of his being, reads and hears [this testimony] will find salvation. Of this there is no doubt."

Praise to the Guru! Praise to the Guru! Praise to the Guru! Praise to the Guru![576] The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows: Baba [Nanak] visited Achal.

117a **ILLUSTRATION 27**

117b [A DISCOURSE WITH SIDDHS AT ACHAL][577]

Now there came round [the festival of] Sivaratri,[578] at which time a gathering of Siddhs was held at Achal[579].

[576]A four-fold repetition of the ascription of praise *vāh gurū*.

[577]This sakhi is analysed in *EST*.

[578]*Śiva-rātri*, or *Mahā Śiva-rātrī*: 'The Night of 'Siva', a Saivite festival hold on the 14th of the dark half of Phalgun (February/March). It provides an appropriate setting for the discourse which follows as the festival was the occasion for important annual gatherings of Nath yogis.

[579]The *B40* narrative, like most of the early janam-sakhi account, gives the location of this 'Siddh' centre simply as Achal. *Pur JS*, p. 97. *Mth JS* II. 69. *AS*, p.73. (The headings which identify the locations more precisely in the published editions of the *Mharbān Janam-sākhī* and *Ādi Sākhīs* have been added by their respective editors). Cf. also *B40*, folio 181a. Bhai Gurdas, however, gives the location as Achal Vatala, and the *Bālā* janam-sakhis repeat this identification. *BG* 1 : 39. *Bālā JS*, p. 287. This indicates a site four miles east of the town of

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"Son Angad", said Baba Nanak, "a gathering of the eighty-four Siddhs [is being held]. Let us go to Achal and talk with the Siddhs." [Angad replied], "Very well my Lord."[680]

Guru Baba [Nanak] proceeded to Achal and there [observed] pious folk performing rituals. Someone had hidden their water-pot *(loṭā)* "The pot was here !" they cried. "The pot was here !"

"If you are [real] Siddhs", said Baba [Nanak's] disciple[681] [to the Siddhs], "then show [us where it is]. If you cannot find it [then what kind of Siddhs are you] !"

"We cannot find [it]", admitted the Siddhs. "*You* find it, for you are a follower of Nanak (*nānak-panthī*)."

Baba [Nanak's] Sikh looked towards his [Master]. "Look
118a for the vessel, son", said Baba [Nanak]. "There it is !" [cried Angad and] brought the pot from the place where it lay [hidden].

The Siddhs were astounded. Then [one of them named]

Batala, on the road leading to Jullundur. Sujan Rai Bhandari of Batala, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, refers to this place as Achal and describes it as an old Saivite shrine. He also mentions an annual fair, but makes no reference to the Sikh tradition concerning the locality. *Khulāṣāt-ut-Tavārīkh*, trans. Muhammad Akbar in his *The Punjab under the Mughals* (Lahore, 1948), p. 295. Although the temple in the centre of the Achal tank is relatively recent an earlier occupancy is indicated by a neighbouring mound (*theh*). The site is now marked by a gurdwara and is known as Achal Sahib.

The presence of the Saivite-shrine and the proximity of Batala to Kartarpur suggest that Bhai Gurdas may well be correct in claiming that a discourse with yogis was held at this spot. There can be no doubt that the actual content of the sakhi is a post-Nanak reconstruction, but at least the possibility of an authentic visit to this locality can be recognised. An alternative possibility arises from the manner in which the other early janam-sakhis limit their identification to the single word Achal. The word *achal* means simply 'a mountain' and this could imply a response to the popular imagination of the period. It is on mountains that Siddhs are believed to sit and it is possible that the term is intended to indicate a location in the Himalayas. Subsequently this vague Himalayan location may have come to be identified with the site near Batala, perhaps because the Batala site already bore the name Achal or perhaps because it was a famous Nath centre which acquired the name Achal *after* the Sikh tradition had been attached to it. This latter possibility receives some support from the fact that the site possesses nothing which could be described as a mountain. An authentic visit can still be regarded as a likelihood, but not as a certainty.

The *B40* janam-sakhi makes another reference to Achal which, because it involves Ajitta Randhava and a tank, seems to point directly to the Batala location rather than to the Himalayas. (*B40*, folio 181a.) This is, however, a sakhi of the *Narrative III* tradition and must have evolved much lat
Siddh discourse and Bhai Gurdas's reference.

[680]*jī pātīśāh.*

[681]Presumably Angad.

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Bhagarnath[582] said, "Nanak was [pure] *ghī*,[583] but the butter has been burnt.[584] It has been spoilt."

"Your mother was a worthless woman, Bhagarnath", replied Guru Baba [Nanak]. "She did not know how to cleanse the pot and so the butter of the *ghī* was burnt. Had she followed the [correct] method the *ghī* would have been saved. Without the [proper] method will the *ghī* be burnt or not ?"

"If one wants to make *ghī*", asked Bhagarnath, "by what method can it be made ? For [making] butter a churning-stick is necessary, a churn-cord is needed, and for the churn-cord wooden handles are required.[585] And someone is needed to do the churning. If the man who does the churning is to churn [effectively] what method should he use ?"

[Baba Nanak replied] :

118b Grasp this *man* [of yours] like a handle [attached to] the churn-cord of [spiritual] vigilance ;
And let your churning be the repeating of the divine Name with [your] tongue, for thus is nectar obtained.[586]

The exegesis [of this stanza is as follows] :[587]

Grasp [your] *man* like a handle held in the hand and do not release it. Like [the regular movement of] a churn-cord repeat the praises [of God, observing the same rhythm as in]

[582]Bhai Gurdas, the *Ādi Sākhīs*, and the *Miharbān Janam-sākhī* all name the interlocutor Bhangarnath. *BG* 1 : 40. *AS*, p. 73. *Mih JS* II. 70. The *B40* compiler laters calls him Bhagarnath (folio 120a), but this is evidently a mistakes as he subsequently reverts to Bhagarnath (folio 120a). The *Miharbān Janam-sākhī* introduces, in addition to Bhangarnath, another yogi named Pavan nath.

[583]The *desī makhan* which rises to the top when milk is churned (the first stage in preparing *ghī*).

[584]To much heat was applied while boiling the butter. Nanak was formerly a noble soul, but now he has been corrupted.

[585]The churning-stick consists of a paddle inserted in a receptacle and rotated by means of a cord The cord is wound around the upper shaft of the paddle which is then operated by pulling first one end of the cord and then the other. To facilitate this process a small piece of wood (*ittī*) is fastened to each end of the cord.

[586]*Sūhī* 1 (2), *AG* p.728.

[587]See note 36. In this instance a didactic discourse by a *Miharbān* commentator has been copied by the *Q2* compiler (or interpolated into his manuscript) and then recopied by both the *B40* and the *Adi Sākhīs* compilers. The discourse expresses a particular interpretation of 'repeating the Name' (*nām simaran*, or *nām japan*). The quotation from the shabad *Sūhī* I which precedes the exegetical supplement offers one of very few instances where Guru Nanak's own words might be construed as advocacy of the mechanical repetition of a particular name as opposed to disciplined meditation upon the divine N[illegible] (GNSP, pp. 215-17.) The commentator has fastened upon the first st[illegible]s a convenient proof-text to support mechanical repetition of the name Rām, and has developed a didactic discourse on this basis.

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pulling a churn-cord. Sleep will not come to the eyes[588] [of those who observe this discipline]. Make your tongue a churning-stick and your mouth the receptacle[589] [in which it revolves]. Then revolve[590] your tongue continuously like a churning-stick. In what substance should it revolve ? Day and night let it continuously recite : Ram, Ram, Ram, Ram, Ram, Ram, Ram, Ram, Ram, Ram, Ram, Ram, Just as the [ordinary] method produces butter from curd, so [this inward churning] produces nectar (*amrit*).

Thus is the nectar of the divine Name produced from [the divine Name itself]. If anyone should use this method, and if the method is properly applied, the result is remembrance of the divine Name (*nām simariā*). Nectar is thus extracted, whereas if [this method] is not followed it is not obtained.

119a He who sits repeating [the divine Name, does not let his] *man* wander. He who grasps it and holds it like the handle [of a churning-cord] will experience no drowsiness By repeating [the divine Name], by singing and reciting the praises of God [through utterance with] the tongue of [the words] "Ram, Ram"—by this method 'butter' is produced. Baba [Nanak] then recited a shabad in *Sūhī* raga.[591]

Rāg Sūhī

Having cleansed the container one drops incense [in it to impart fragrance to its contents] and then one goes off to collect milk.

One's deeds constitute the milk, one's hearing [of the divine Word] the curdling agent, and through freedom from worldly desire one makes [the milk] coagulate. 1.

Repeat the One Name, O my soul ![592]

All other deeds are futile. *Refrain*

Grasp this *man* [of yours] like a handle [attached to] the churn-cord of [spiritual] vigilance ;

And let your churning be the repeating of [the divine

[588]The word *netrā(n)* is a pun, for it can mean either 'eyes' or 'a churn-cord'. In neither the stanza by Guru Nanak nor in the subsequent exegesis is it clear which translation should be used.

[589]*maṭkī* : a small earthen vessel. In this context it designates the vessel into which the churning-stick is inserted.

[590]*pherodā rahai* : lit. rotate, revolve, turn.

[591]*Sūhī* 1, *AG* p. 728. Guru Nanak here uses two images (the preparetion of butter and the worship of an idol) to express his doctrine of inward devotion.

[592]The *AG* version omits *mere jīā*, 'O my soul'.

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Name] 'Ram'[593] with [your] tongue, for thus is nectar obtained. 2.

Let this *man* be a casket [for your idol ; let the idol be] washed in the Lake of Truth ; [and let] leaves of faith be [the offering which you make before it] to win the approval [of God].

Let the worshipper offer his very life, for thereby shall he
119b attain [to the exalted state of] constant repetition of the Master's [Name]. 3.

How many there be who utter [Thy praises] and then proceed [to other concerns, forgetting that] none is exalted[594] above Thee.

Devoid of devotion Nanak yet repeats : to Thee, the True One, I offer praise ! 4.

The exegesis [of this shabad is as follows].[595] The man who worships an idol [or] a *śālgrām*[596] takes the *śālgrām* and having placed it in a casket and washed it he installs it [on a pedestal]. Before it he offers leaves and flowers. In this manner [men] hope to find the Lord, as did Dhanna and Namdev.[597] "That which they obtained from a *śālgrām*," [they say], "we too should obtain [through our worship]."

[Dhanna and Namdev, however,] obtained it in a single day, whereas these other [idol-worshippers] will never obtain it [though they worship their idols] throught their entire life

[593]The copyist has here written *rām*, not *nām*. On folio 118b, however, he uses *nām*. The *AG* version has *nām*.

[594]*sir*. *AG*: *sarī*, 'equal'

[595]The exegetical supplement recorded in the *B40* manuscript relates only to the third stanza of the shabad. The *Adi Sākhīs* text adds an exegesis of the fourth stanza. *AS*, p. 75. The quoting of the first two stanzas and refrain is superfluous as they have already been interpreted. They are omitted by the *Ādi Sākhīs* compiler.

[596]Ammonite found in the bed of the river Gandaki, prized as sacred stone on account of the spiral patterns in it which are regarded as representations of Visnu. J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 648-49.

[597]Dhanna the Jat and Namdev are two of the bhagats whose compositions have been included in the Adi Granth. Dhanna attained sufficient fame as a bhagat during the later medieval period to be regarded as one of the legendary group of disciples attached to Ramanand. Nabha Das devotes a stanza to him in the *Bhakta Mal* (v. 62; see also v. 36). For a life of Dhanna according to tradition see Macauliffe vi. 106-11. For Namdev see *GNSR*, pp. nak makes no reference to either, but Guru Arjan, in addition to including their compositions in the Adi Granth, Comments briefly on the quality of their devotion (*AG*, pp. 487-88).

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in this world.[598] Why have they not obtained it, they who have failed to do so? [The Guru] says it is because the method which they followed was not the [proper] method.
120a What he asks, is that method whereby [Dhanna and Namdev] obtained it? He says that this is the method:

Let the *man* be a casket, let the idol be placed in it, and let it be installed in the Temple of Truth. Utter the Truth. [Let the worshipper] bathe in [the waters of] the Temple of Truth. And in place of the leaves and the flowers which are offered [in a temple] let your offering be the performance of noble ideals. Let *this* be the leaf which is offered and so let the worship which one [thereby] performs be the offering in love to Sri Krisna of one's whole being. Let this be the worship which is performed—[the offering of one's] whole being. In this manner stand humbly before Him, the Almighty, the eternal and ever-present Helper. If you repeat [any name] other than the [true] Name all is futile. Repeat the one and only Name. All other deeds are useless. [The only profitable deed is to repeat] the Name of God.[599]

Bhagarnath then spoke up. "A curse upon you Nanak!" he cried. "You are a worthless Bedi! Anyone can repeat
120b [any name he chooses] so let him do so. You are distorting the truth. If anyone is a hatha-yoga adept,[600] a yogi, or a Digambar, if anyone is a member of the Nath panth or belongs to one of the twelve sects [of the Kanphat yogis][601] or is one of the Nath [Masters] or six Jatis then let him repeat [what he chooses]. Nanak, [you are] a worthless Bedi. If anyone can repeat any name [then let him do so, and] if he cannot [let him not try]."

Then at Bhagarnath's call the eighty-four Siddhs, the nine

[598] The reference to Dhanna and Namdev reflects a tradition that both were idol-worshippers. In the later Sikh version of this tradition their inclusion in the Adi Granth is defended on the grounds that they subsequently abandoned idol-worship in favour of pure devotion to the Formless One. Macauliffe vi. 33-34, 40, 109. This janam-sakhi reference implies, in contrast, a belief that they acquired their merit by an unusually exalted variety of idol-worship, not by any rejection of the practice.

[599] The *Ādi Sākhīs* adds the following exegetical supplement to cover stanza 4:

> How many repeat the Name of God! And how many will repeat it! And how many have already repeated it! And how many will continue to repeat it! Infinite is their number! I too seek it. [Weakling that I am] I do not repeat it, but yet I too give praise to Him whose Name is eternal. He is the Lord of all life. I am devoid of devotion. but yet I shall repeat [the Name]. Cry: Praise to the Guru! Guru! Praise to the Guru!
>
> —*AS*, p. 75.

[600] For this and the terms which follow see notes 18, 127, 331, 381.

[601] G.W. Briggs, *Gorakhnāth and the Kānpha ṭa Yogīs* (Calcutta, 1938), p. 62.

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Naths, the six Jatis, the unseen and the visible, demons of the air and dwellers on the earth, the fifty-two Virs, and the sixty-four Yoginis were roused. When they were roused God came to Baba Nanak. At the bidding of the Siddhs [this host of supernatural beings] came to encounter [Baba Nanak, with whom] they held a *Siddh Goṣṭ*.[602] [The Siddhs engaged] Guru Baba [Nanak who was] armed with weapons of knowledge[603] and a battle took place concerning [the proper practice of] yoga. Guru Baba [Nanak] took the weapons of yoga. He who is mighty will win [this battle].

121a But how could the Siddhs [presume to] challenge Guru Baba [Nanak]! Was Guru Baba [Nanak] the mightier, or were the Siddhs more powerful [than he]? First they demonstrated their [supernatural] powers. One made a mud wall run; another stood upon water and, supported by the wind, walked [on the water]. One cast down a deerskin and sat upon it; another mounted on a deerskin and flew; and yet another practised sleight of hand. [In this manner] they demonstrated their powers. Then they challenged Guru Baba [Nanak]: "Nanak, show us some [such wonder]."

"You are able to demonstrate [your powers]", answered Guru Baba [Nanak], "whereas I am powerless. But you hide and I shall seek and find you. Or let me hide and you look for me."

First the Siddhs hid. By means of his mystical power[604] Baba [Nanak] ji [found] one in heaven and another in hell,

121b one to the east, another to the west, one to the north and another to the south. Wherever they were hidden he seized them by their topknots, led them out, and made them stand [where they could be seen]. They had been rendered powerless.

"Now I shall hide", said Baba [Nanak]. "You look for me. If you find [me] then well and good. Otherwise offer a coin [as a token of submission] and prostrate yourselves. I promise that [if you do this] I shall stand out [where you can see me]."

[602] "A Discourse with Siddhs". This expression evidently refers to the imminent battle of miracles between Baba Nanak and the Siddhs, not to Guru Nanak's composition entitled *Sidh Goṣṭi* (*AG*, pp. 938-46). An explicit reference to this composition comes at the end of the battle, although no portion of the text is quoted by *B40*. See note 607; also *AS*, p. 76.

[603] *giān* (*jñān*).

[604] *antari dhiānu*: lit. inward meditation, concentration of the mind.

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Baba [Nanak] ji then merged in the four elements which are constituted as follows : earth, air, water, and fire. He merged in the four elements [and so disappeared from sight]. The Siddhs [searched] diligently [where they had] themselves [hidden]—in hell, in heaven, in the three worlds. Resolutely they searched but they were unable to find [him]. And so offering a coin they prostrated themselves, [whereupon] Baba [Nanak] ji returned, body and soul, to their presence.
122a [Having reappeared he] recited a shalok.[605]

Shalok

If I were to clothe myself with fire, build my dwelling in the snows, and subsist upon a diet of iron ;
If I were to turn all suffering into water and drink it, [or] reduce the [entire] world to my command ;
If I were to lay the heavens upon scales and weigh them against a copper coin ;[606]
If I were to distend [my body] to infinite dimensions, [or] bind all in subjection ;
If my mind possessed such power that I could act and command as I chose, [all would be profitless].
Just as He, the Lord, is glorious so too are His gifts glorious, gifts which he bestows in accordance with His will.
He upon whom the [Lord's] gracious glance-rests—he it is, Nanak, who acquires the glory of the True Name. 1.

"What you say we accept", answered the Siddhs, "but tell us about yoga. How have you met God ? Recount the splendour of God to us." [In reply] Baba [Nanak] recited the *Siddh Goṣṭ* in [the measure] *Rāmkalī* raga.[607] And having held discourse [with the Siddhs] he returned home.

[605] *Vār Mājh* 19:1, *AG* p. 147. Cf. *BG* 1:43, *AS* p. 76, *Mih JS* II. 76-79, *Pur JS* p. 105.

[606] *Ṭank* : a copper coin, light in weight and the lowest in denomination during the time of Guru Nanak. During the reign of Akbar it was gradually replaced by the *dam*. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* (London, 1963), p. 381.

[607] *Sidh Goṣṭi*, *AG* pp. 938-46. This composition takes the form of a discussion in which Guru Nanak answers questions put to him by the members of a Siddh conclave (*sidh sabhā*). Lines, stanzas, and series of stanzas attributed to Nanak alternate with queries attributed to various Siddhs (jointly or individually) and the entire work reads like a versified janam-sakhi. A reference to the celebrated janam-sakhi formula *nām dān isnān* (stanza 36, *AG* p. 942) endorses this
The entire discourse is, however, set out in the Adi Granth as the work of Nanak and certainly possesses a unity which suggests a single author. The passages which represent Nanak's replies to the Siddhs' questions cover a wide range of doctrine

(Contd. to next page)

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122b [Later, however], he repented having uttered that shalok and for a long time he remained standing on his head [in penance].[608] Then one day a voice came from heaven :[609] "Nanak, do not misunderstand. I am pleased [with you and] so I have spoken [through] you. And I shall [continue to] speak [through] you. Do not misunderstand."

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows : [How] the voice [of God] came to Baba [Nanak] ji.

123a **ILLUSTRATION 28**

123b [AN INTERVIEW WITH GOD][610]

One day the voice [of God] came to Baba [Nanak] ji : "Nanak, come to me."

"True King", replied Baba Nanak, "how can I come to Thee ? Thou hast not permitted me to approach so near. How can I come to Thee ? I cannot come."

The voice [of God] came [again] : "Close your eyes and I shall bring you to myself." [When] Baba [Nanak] closed his eyes he was transported to the Palace of [God], the Formless One (*niraṅkār*), and set down there.[611] [God] then said, "Open your eyes, Nanak." Baba [Nanak] opened his eyes and beheld the Formless One seated [there], the True Lord. Then [there broke forth cries of] : Praise ! Praise ! Praise ! Praise ! Praise ! Praise ! Praise ! Praise ! Praise ![612]

(Contd...)
and together constitute an epitome of his teachings. The questions of the Siddhs which provide the occasion for the Guru's doctrinal affirmations presumably represent queries and objections of the kind which he encountered in his contacts with Nath yogis. Two Siddhs who are said to make individual contributions to the debate are Charpat (*AG* p. 938, see note 381 in) and Loharipa, 'the son of Gorakh' (*AG* p. 939). The *Miharbān Janam-sākhī*, having related the same battle of miracles, gives a complete text of the *Sidh Goṣṭi* at this point (with some variants from the Adi Granth text). Each stanza is followed by the customary *Miharbān* commentary. *Mih JS* II.80-125. The *Purātan* janam-sakhis set the same work in the context of their Gorakh-hatari sakhi. *Pur JS*, p. 105.

[608] The compiler's purpose in introducing this sudden reference to repentance is not clear. A possible explanation is that these closing sentences of the sakhi have been disjoined from a different sakhi and mistakenly attached at this point. The *Ādi Sākhīs* analogue lacks this addendum. *AS*, p. 76.

[609] *gaib* : 'hidden', 'mysterious'.

[610] This sakhi is briefly discussed in *EST*.

[611] The Sufi *ṭaī-i-safar* or instantaneous transportation from one place to another merely by closing one's eyes. See also *B40*, ff. 133b, 178a.

[612] The exclamation *vāh*, repeated nine times, is inscribed in the text in red ink. The source of the cry is not indicated. It may be intended to represent Nanak's personal response to the theophany, or it may be a chorus of praise from various supernatural beings whom the narrator envisaged as dwelling in the presence of God.

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"Nanak", said God, "I have sent you into the Kaliyuga to bear witness to my Name. You are able to bear witness to my Name [and to make known] what it is [that constitutes] my Name."

124a "Gracious One", replied Baba Nanak, "[I have] neither mouth nor tongue with which to extoll the greatness of Thy Name." Lifting his voice in praise Baba sang a shabad in *Sirī Rāg*.[613]

Rāg Sirī Rāg

If my age were to extend for millions of years and I were to subsist on air alone ;
If I were to dwell [deep] within a cave, observing neither moon nor sun, and if I knew no sleep nor even dreams ;
Yet would Thy value be beyond [my] computing, the greatness of Thy Name beyond all utterance ! 1.

The True, the Formless One, dwells within His own [creation].[614]

"Nanak", said God[615], "you have not grasped the worth of my Name. You have praised nothing, uttered nothing." Baba [Nanak] sang the [next] stanza of the shabad :

We hear of Him, we speak of him, [but of His greatness we can have no conception, save that] He should graciously bestow the blessing [of understanding upon us]. *Refrain*

"O Lord, I can relate many things which people say and
124b if [what I say] pleases Thee then I am content. [But] how can I [possibly] comprehend the [ineffable] greatness of Thy Name ?"

"Nanak", answered God, "[having heard] what others say what do *you* say concerning my power ?" [Baba Nanak began another stanza] :

If I were to be a bird and fly to a hundred heavens;
Invisible and subsisting without food or drink...

"Gracious One", [said Baba Nanak], "I am unable to praise Thy Name. Thy Name is such [that it is far beyond all praising]."

[613] *Sirī Rāgu* 2, *AG* pp. 14-15. This shabad has already been quoted in the sakhi "A Discourse with Abdul Rahman" (folios 37b, 39a).

[614] The concluding line of the quoted extract is the first line of the shabad's refrain.

[615] *Nirañjan Nirankār* : 'the Perfect Formless One'. Elsewhere in this sakhi the word used for God is *Pārabraham* or, more frequently, simply *Nirankār*, 'the Formless One'.

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"Take flight [as a bird], Nanak", said God, "and so [through your discovery of the immensity of my creation] obtain [an understanding of] the greatness of my Name."

Baba [Nanak] replied :

If I were to be slain, cut into many pieces, and ground in a mill;
If I were to be consumed by fire and my remains mingled with ashes.....

"Nanak", said God, "if you should be slain and cut into pieces will you discover my worth ?"

Baba [Nanak] replied :

If Nanak were to write, read, and understand a burden of a hundred thousand maunds of paper;
If he possessed an inexhaustible [ocean] of ink and used the [everlasting] winds as a pen;
125a Yet would Thy value be beyond [my] computing, the greatness of Thy Name beyond all utterance !
"True Lord ! Thou alone dost know Thy greatness."

"Nanak", said God, "my grace is with you, the joy of [having received] my mercy, [for] you have performed [worthy] deeds. Go, my grace is with you. I have been gracious [to you]. Everyone can talk, Nanak, [for that is easy, but it is only] he who comprehends my Name in the manner [you have comprehended it] who can perform deeds [of true worth]. Go, my Name is your Name. My Name is Guru. You have been named 'Guru of the World' *(jagat gurū)*. Go Nanak. I have established your panth and I have declared your Name to be Guru in the Kaliyuga. My Name is True King. Your Name is Guru.

"Gracious One", Nanak answered, "I cannot bear this responsibility. Make me dust before your servants that I may fall beneath the feet of those who are absorbed in [the
125b contemplation of] Thy Name."

[But God reassured him, saying] :[616] "Go, Nanak. Your panth will flourish. The salutation [of your followers] shall be : *pairī pavaṇā satigurū hoiā*.[617] The salutation of the Vaisnava panth is : *rām kriṣan*.[618] The salutation of the Sanyasi panth is : *namo narāin*.[619] The yogis' salutation is :

[616]The instructions which are here said to have been issued to Nanak constitute a rudimentary *rahit-nāmā* or 'code of discipline'. See *ESC*, pp. 51-52.

[617]'[In the name of] the True Guru I fall at your feet.' The *Ādi* [illegible]s the salutation as simply *pairī pauṇā*. *AS*, p. 2.

[618]'[In the name of] Ram [and of Lord] Krisna.'

[619]'[In the name of] Narayan I bow [before you].'

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ādeś ādi purakh kau.[620] The Muslims' cry is : *salām-'alaik*. You are Nanak and your panth will flourish. [Your followers] shall be [called] Nanak-panthis and their salutation shall be : *pairī pauṇā satigurū hoigā*.

"I shall bless your panth. Inculcate devotion towards me and strengthen [men's obedience to their] *dharma*. [As] the Vaisnavas [have] their temple (*rāmsāl*), the yogis, their seat (*āsaṇ*), and the Muslims their mosque, so your [followers shall have their] dharamsala. Three things you must inculcate in your panth : [repeating] the divine Name, [giving] charity, and [regular] bathing. Keep [yourself] unspotted
126a while [yet remaining] a householder.[621]

"Nanak, the point concerning my way (*mārg*) is that no one should be made to suffer and that [everyone] should hold fast to the observance of *dharma*. Think evil of no one. Do not vaunt yourself. Regard yourself as lower than everyone else. Practise remembrance [of my Name], charity, and bathing. Observe continence,[622] eat what you have earned from [your own] labour, give [to others] in my Name.[623] Speak the truth ; do not lie. An untruthful devotee does not please me. It is the truthful whom I accept. Do not dwell in the house of deceit. Do not accumulate the poison [of evil deeds]. As long as you live lean on me as your only support ; cast all other supports away. My grace is upon you. You are me and I am you. Go and instruct your followers in the performance of their duty. Meditate on nothing except my Name."

126b [Finally] Baba Nanakji was commanded : "Touch my feet." Baba Nanak touched the feet [of God] and departed. To save the people of this world he came [back] here, and having returned here he fulfilled the commission [which he had received from God]. Praise to the Guru ! Blessed be the Guru, the all-powerful Guru by whose grace the divine Name has been firmly implanted ! For the salvation of the world he came here. Hail to all followers of the Truth ! Hail to the Guru Govind ![624]

[620]'Hail to the Primal One.'

[621]*grahastī*, as opposed to the *sanyāsī* or *udāsī* who retains his purity by severing his family ties.

[622]*sañjamu karaṇā* It may also be interpreted as 'patience'.

[623]The injunction to earn one's own living and to distribute a portion to o been taken from an explicit pronouncement by Guru Nanak (*Vār Sarang* p. 1245). *GNSR*, p. 211.

[624]God.

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The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [which relates a discourse] with a raja.

127a ILLUSTRATION 29

127b [BABA NANAK IN THE LAND OF UNBELIEVERS]

A sakhi [which relates a discourse] with a raja.[625]

Baba [Nanak] ji then left that place. Having decided that he would travel he journeyed wherever he chose. To whatever place his divine intuition led him, there he went. [God commanded him]: "Take Mardana the Dum with you."

Wherever Baba [Nanak] ji went, to whatever country, anyone who saw him there—whether faqir, Dum, or beggar—would come and stand before him to ask for something. Baba [Nanak] ji would command them: "Go [and see] what is lying under such-and-such a tree. Go and bring it." Whoever went to get [any such thing] would declare: "Baba [Nanak] is a great sage, a saint of the Court of God! The Nine Treasures[626] and [workers of] miracles stand before him with palms joined [in reverence, crying]: 'Glory! Glory![627] Your labours have been approved!'

[625]The *B40* table of contents gives as the title of this sakhi: *bābājī munāfaku desu gae*, "Baba [Nanak] ji visited the Land of Unbelievers" (folio 228a, Arabic pagination). The "Land of Unbelievers" anecdote actually begins on folio 128b. The *Miharbān Janam-sākhī*, following the vague *Ādi Sākhīs* chronology, sets this anecdote in the context of Baba Nanak's return journey from South India, prior to reaching Ujjain. *Mih JS* I. 232-34. *AS* pp. 33-36. The *B40* and *Ādi Sākhīs* compilers have taken both the prologue and the actual anecdote from their *Q2* source. For Santokh Singh's version see *NPr* II. 11.

[626]It is not clear who is represented in this context by the term *nau nidhi*, 'the Nine Treasures'. The term usually refers to nine priceless treasures held by Kuvera, the god of wealth. These treasures bear the names Padma, Mahapadma, Kachchhapa, Mukunda, Kunda (or Nanda), Kharba, Makara, Nīla, and Sankha, but the actual meaning of these designations is not clear. The term is sometimes used in a collective sense to embrace all the treasures in the world (as by Guru Arjan in his *Sukhmanī* 3.1, *AG* p. 262) and in one place a *Miharbān* commentator explicitly interprets the term to mean the divine Name. (See below folio 217b.) In this *B40* reference the Nine Treasures have obviously been personified. Personification of the Nine Treasures is also found in Tantric texts. (John Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, p. 222), but neither there nor in this *B40* instance is their actual identity explained. The reference to *karāmātī* (lit. 'miracles') which follows is also obscure. See Benjamin Walker, *Hindu World* vol. 1, pp. 569-70; and Gurbakhsh Singh Kesari, *Sankhiā Kos* (Ludhiana, 1961), p. 152.

[627]*vāhu vāhu.*

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128a More and more blessings he bestowed and all were struck with wonder. "He is a great faqir, a great bhagat, a great ascetic", [they declared], "one who has gained acceptance in the Court of God. Never has there been such a bhagat in the Kaliyuga. He is one beloved of the great Master, [God]. Whatever he says comes to pass. If anyone comes with a petition his wish is thereupon fulfilled by [the Guru's] power."

[And so] there was a great stir in the city [where he was staying, with people proclaiming] the love which God had bestowed upon Nanak Pedi. Many people gathered [there for his *darsan*] and many ministered to his needs.

Baba [Nanak] ji [then] disappeared[628] from there and went to another country.[629] He could go wherever he chose [and on this occasion] he visited a country where no one knew
128b of the Name of God, nor who God is. Baba Nanak went there [to that] Land of Unbelievers (*munā fak deś*).[630] It was a place where the crops were dependent on rainfall. Whenever rain fell the crops grew. When rain was needed the cultivators who lived there would go to [their] raja and stand before him [saying], "Let us have rain, sire." The raja would reply, "I have given rain", and rain would fall. In that manner the country subsisted.

When he arrived there] Baba [Nanak] ji observed that no one except the raja knew God. [And so] Baba [Nanak] tarried there. Outside the town, at a distance of two *kos*, there was a field. There Baba [Nanak] prepared a *dhūān*[631] and was joined by several celibate faqirs. He had prepared a *dhūān* in the wasteland and the ascetic faqirs remained [there] with him.

129a [It so happened that] they had arrived in that country at a

[628]The verb *tubkī mārī*, 'plunged' or 'disappeared under water', indicates another miraculous change of location.

[629]*vilāt* (*vilāyat*) : lit, 'government', 'jurisdiction' ; and in an extended sense 'country' or 'district'. In recent Indian usage the term has designated any foreign country, particularly Europe and England (whence the corrupt form Blighty). Earlier usage commonly applied the word to Persia, and it is possible that the Janam-sakhi narrator has here used it in this sense. On the other hand, the prefixed numeral *ik* ('a *valāit*') implies one among several *valāits*. This suggests that his usage designates any district beyond the Punjab. The *Ādi Sākhīs* compiler refers to the transmarine domain of Raja Sivanabh as 'that *valāt*' (*us bilāt*). As, p. 62. The *B40* and *Hāfizābād* compilers, following the same source, have written '[illegible] direction' or 'that place'. *B40*, f. 141b. *Pur JS*, p. 76.

[630]*munāfak* (*munāfiq*, noun and adjective) : hypocrite, infidel, atheist.

[631]*dhūā* , or *dhūnī* : the yogi's hearthfire, a distinctive feature of the Kanphat yogis' discipline. G.W. Briggs, op. cit., p. 21.

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time when rain had ceased to fall. The cultivators had gone to the raja [and said], "Sire, the rain is not falling", and the raja had replied, "It will fall." The cultivators had then departed, [but] after a few days they again appeared before the raja [saying], "The rain is not [yet] falling, sire."

"Go," the raja answered. "It will fall."

After several days had passed the rain had [still] not fallen and again the cultivators went to the raja. Appearing [before him they repeated their plea] : "Sire, the rain is not [yet] falling."

'Brothers", replied the raja, "I have exercised to the full the power which I possess. If the rain has not fallen what can I do ?" When the raja gave this reply the cultivators were in despair. There was no land cultivated, no seeding,
129b and everyone had given up hope.

One peasant came lamenting to Baba [Nanak] ji. [This peasant], in whose field Baba [Nanak] ji had laid out his *dhūān*, used to come and sit with him every day. Baba [Nanak] ji would ask him, "Tell me, how are you getting on ?". [The peasant became awere that] the Babaji could read the hearts of men and there grew in him a desire to ask about the raja.

One day he came and sat with Baba [Nanak as usual]. "Babaji", he lamented, "a great disaster has occurred. The whole town has been devastated [because] it has not rained."

"So your rains have failed", [said Baba Nanak]. "Who used to cause it to fall for your harvests in the past ?"

130a "Sir", he replied, "the raja used to make it fall." "Then go to the raja", said Baba [Nanak].

"We have been going to the raja, sir, but nothing happens", he answered. "Who knows what has gone wrong."

"Meditate on God[632] and it will rain", said Guru Baba [Nanak].

"Sir, where does God live ?" responded, [the peasant].

Guru Baba [Nanak] smiled and replied, "The whole world is God's. He lives in every place. He dwells in every heart and in every region [of the universe]. Wherever worship is offered there He is present."

"Sir", said [the peasant], "no one here knows that there is a God !"

"If anyone should now petition God for [illegible] will rain", answered Guru Baba [Nanak].

[632] *paramesaru simarahu.*

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"But sir, without having seen [Him] how can one know there is a God ?" protested [the peasant].

130b "Nothing is to be achieved by seeing", replied Guru Baba [Nanak].

"Then how can [He] be known ?" persisted [the peasant].

"[He] is known by [His] power", answered Guru Baba [Nanak].

"What is [this] power ?" asked [the peasant].

"Son", answered Guru Baba [Nanak], "this [that you will observe] is His power. Here is your field. Plough it and sow seed in the ground. Then observe whether it sprouts or not. If it sprouts then you will know that it is because there is a God. And if it does not sprout then retrieve the seed."

"But sir, how can the land be ploughed if it is not moist ?" asked [the peasant].

"It can be done", the Guru assured him. "Bring [your] plough and use it."

[The peasant] prostrated himself and returned home. When he reached home he announced to [the people of] the town : "Friends, there is a devotee of God [outside the town] who

131a says, 'Take the Name of God, drive [your] plough, plant seed—and a crop will grow'."

When he said this the people of the town laughed at him. "Fool !" they scoffed. "Will a crop grow without rain ?"

[The peasant] returned to Baba [Nanak] and told [him], "Sir, the people [scornfully] asked me, 'Will a crop ever grow without rain ?' If the crop does not come up it will be a serious matter. [I shall be greatly humiliated.]"

"Run and fetch your plough", said Guru Baba [Nanak]. "I shall be responsible for your crop."

[The peasant] went and brought his plough, and Baba [Nanak] ji instructed [him as follows] : "Let one person go ahead sowing seed, son, and another behind, driving the plough."

He did as he had been instructed. Others, following his example, came and prostrated themselves, and they too received the [same] command : "Do likewise, [my] sons.

131b Take the Name of God, plough [your land] and sow a crop." Whoever came to Baba [Nanak] received the same command. There were as many ploughs used as there were people in the village. The fields were sown, the pe
was completed, [and then] they turned to waiting upon Baba [Nanak's] needs. Baba [Nanak] gave this command : "Repeat [the name of] God." All began to repeat "Guru,

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Guru."[633]

After some days the crop came up. When the raja heard this he came with all [his] people and all prostrated themselves before Baba [Nanak] ji. To all was given the command: Sow [your] crop, sons, and repeat [the Name of] God."

In accordance with the command of God the crop grew well and ripened. [Then] Baba [Nanak] ji gave the command: "Harvest the crop, sons. Pull up the plants by
132a the roots and see what is underneath." When they rooted out the plants and looked beneath the soil [they saw] huge embers.[634] All were wonder-struck and cried, "Wondrous is your power!" Even the raja fell at his feet and became a Sikh. The entire population of the town became Sikhs. In many [surrounding] villages dharamsalas were erected and to all was imparted the gift of the [Guru's] divine utterances. All began to repeat, "Guru. Guru." Baba [Nanak] ji called that land the Land of Beauty.[635] He inculcated [the threefold discipline of repeating] the divine Name, [giving] charity, and [regular] bathing. When Baba [Nanak] bestowed this gift the whole town was overcome with wonder. "Worship God with your mind fixed [upon Him]", promised Baba [Nanak] ji, "and not only rain but whatsoever you desire will come to pass." Baba [Nanak] ji then left that place and proceeded on.

[636]The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi concerning [another wondrous deed by] Baba [Nanak] ji.

132b ILLUSTRATION 30

133a [MECCA : BABA NANAK'S MIRACULOUS ARRIVAL]

Baba [Nanak] ji then made his way towards Mecca. On the road he met some faquirs who asked him, "What is your name?" Baba [Nanak] replied, "It is Nanak." They then asked, "Are you a Hindu or a Muslim?" [to which he replied,] "I am a Hindu."

When Baba [Nanak] said this they drew away from him. "Nanak!" they exclaimed, "this is no road for Hindus!"

[633]See notes 499, 587.

[634]This detail is presumably intended to magnify the wonder of the miracle. Not only did the crop grow without water. It actually grew on smouldering embers.

[635]*suālju*. Also *AS*, p. 36. The *Miharbān Janam-sākhī* calls it ...s, 'the Land of Truth'. *Mih JS* I. 234. Santokh Singh accepts ... g. *NPr* II. 11 (90).

[636]In the text the two parts of the standard formula for sakhi termination have been reversed.

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"Why not ?" asked Baba [Nanak].

"Sayyids[637] rule in this country", they answered. "They kill Hindus and do not let them pass. We are afraid. Do not travel with us.". And they moved away from him.

"Very well," said Baba [Nanak]. "Let us make the pilgrimage to Mecca [separately] and whoever God takes will go [there]. Proceed on !"

133b When Baba [Nanak] ji said this they went on. Leaving Baba [Nanak] they went on their way [while] Baba [Nanak] ji remained [there]. It was a year's journey [to Meccal and after a year the faqirs reached [the city]. When they arrived what should they see but Baba [Nanak] ji already there ! The faqirs were astounded. "O God !" they exclaimed. "We left [him] behind and he has arrived ahead [of us]. What marvel is this ?"

The faquirs then enquired from the people of Mecca concerning Baba [Nanak] ji. "For how long has this faqir been here, friends ?" [they asked].

"This faqir has been here for a year", answered the people of that place.

"O God !" cried the faquirs. "Has a Hindu drawn so near [to Thee] ? Glory to Thy grace whereby he [an infi-

131a del] has come so near [to Thee ! Thou hast] imparted [Thy grace] to a Hindu !"

They then related what had happened on the way, [whereupon] the people of Mecca assured them, "This is no Hindu. This is a great sage, one who recites the *namāz*. Everyone recites the *namāz* after him. He recites the *namāz* before anyone else."

"He told us, 'I am a Hindu'," explained the faqirs, "[but in reality] he is a Muslim and thus he has come near [to God]. We were amazed, wondering how a Hindu could draw near [to God] in this way."

Baba [Nanak] remained in Mecca for a year, [during which time] he composed a shabad in *Basant* raga.[638]

Rāg Basant

Having created the nine [regions],[639] the seven [conti-

[637] Muslims claiming descent from 'Ali', the son-in-law of Muhammad. See note 285.

[638] *Basant Hiṇḍol Aṭi.* 8, *AG* pp. 1190-91. In the *Miharbān* version this shabad, although included in the Mec a *goṭi*, is said to have been uttered during a discourse with God. *Mīh JS* I. 453. The *Bālā* tradition sets it in the cc discourse held in Pakho with Sheikh Malo Tikhan. *Bālā JS*, p. 339.

[639] The nine *khaṇḍas* ('regions, or divisions) of Jambudvipa, viz: Bharatavarsa (the area south of the Himalayas, corresponding to India), Kimpurusa, Harivarsa, Kusa, Bhadra, and Ketumal. For Jambudvipa see note 380.

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nents],[640] the fourteen [zones],[641] the three [worlds],[642] and the four [aeons].[643] Thou didst populate them [with creatures born] from the four sources of life.[644]

134b And to each in its turn Thou didst deliver the four Lights,[645] [one each] into the keeping of the four [aeons]. 1.

Gracious Master, Slayer of demons and Lord of all ! Such is Thy power ! *Refrain*

In every habitation [there is quartered] an army of fire, commanded by Thy [servant] Dharamraj.[646]

The earth is the vessel [from which] there is given an endless supply [of food], with Fate as Thy dispenser. 2.

[And yet men] impatiently demand more, [and like that quarrelsome rishi] Narada bring wretchedness [upon themselves].

Greed is a prison-house of darkness, and vices the fetters on [our] feet. 3.

[Our] worldly possessions are like clubs raining endless blows [upon us]; sin stands guard [to prevent our escape].

If it please Thee we follow virtue, and if not we follow evil ; all is in accordance with Thy grace. 4.

[And now] the Primal One is called Allah and it is the writ of the sheikhs which runs [in Hindustan].

[For worshiping their] gods and goddesses [the Hindus] are taxed-such is the condition now. 5.

[This is the time of the faqirs] pitcher, the Muslim call to prayer, the Muslim pattern of prayer, and the prayer-mat ; [even] Krisna wears garments of blue !

[640]The seven *dvipas*, or 'continents', of the Puranic cosmography. See note 380.

[641]The fourteen vertical divisions of the universe, consisting of six heavens, the earth, and the seven stages of the nether world (*pātāla*).

[642]The vertical division of the universe into three *loka* (heaven, earth, and the nether world).

[643]The four *yuga*, or cosmic eras.

[644]*mūrati chārl* : the 'four forms'. The four sources of life, viz. the egg, the foetus, perspiration, and earth. The usual term is *chār khāṇi*. The Adi Granth version has *mahaliti chār*.

[645]The four Vedas.

[646]The precise meaning of this line is not clear. 'Every habit interpreted as a reference to the human body or heart, and the as the divine indwelling light in all its radiant power. Cf. *Śabadārath* iv. 1190, n. 27 Dharamraj is Yam, the god of the dead in his role as divine arbiter of the fate of ach individual.

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In every home [one heart] Muslim titles,[647] and everyone's language has changed. 6.

135a Thou, O Lord, art the Master, the Almighty ! What power have I [to dispute Thy decrees] ?
[If it please Thee then] let the Muslim greeting be uttered from the four corners [of the earth] ; let every habitation resound with Thy praises. 7.

Slight is the merit which one earns from bathing at *tīraths*[648] or from giving charity.
It is through the divine Name that one is exalted, Nanak ; throuh holding it in remembrance every[649] hour. 8.

Baba [Nanak] ji then left that. Praise to the Guru ! Praise to the Guru !

Praise to the Guru ! Praise to the Guru ! The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [relating a discourse which] Baba [Nanak] ji held with Bhagat Kabir.

135b

ILLUSTRATION 31

136a

[A DISCOURSE WITH KABIR][650]

Baba [Nanak] ji then left that place. A discourse was held with Bhagat Kabir.[651] Kabir said :

[647] *mīān* : sir, master.

[648] The *AG* version adds : '[reading] the *Smrtis*'.

[649] *maikā* (*AG* : *mekā*). The meaning can be interpreted as either 'every *ghari*' or '[for only] one *ghari*'. It seems likely that the shabad came to be included in this sakhi through a misreading of the word as *makā* (Mecca) : 'Nanak achieved greatness by holding the divine Name in remembrance for a *ghari* in Mecca.'

[650] This "Discourse with Kabir" provides an example of the heterodox discourse form discussed in *EST*. Although its purpose is patently to exalt Baba Nanak at the expense of Kabir and, indeed, of all other bhagats (cf the reference to Ramanand on folio 137b) it must nevertheless be classified as heterodox because of the manner in which this purpose is given expression. The origin of the verses which constitute the body of the discourse is not clear. One possibility is that they reflect a dispute between Nanak-panthis and Kabir-panthis. Another possibility (a more likely one) is that they were originally composed in the context of the dispute between orthodox Sikhs and members of the Hindali sect, a dispute which evidently found one expression in a controversy concerning the order of precedence to be accorded Kabir, Nanak, and Hindal. If this conjecture is correct it must mean that the verses have been lifted from an earlier context and somewhat discordantly incorporated in the *B40* janam-sakhi.

The verses are also of interest for the extensive use made in them of Nath concepts and terminology. In structure the complete discourse is similar to Guru Nanak's *Sidh Gosti* (see note 607) and although much inferior to it may perhaps have been modelled on it. It differs, however, in that its manifestly reinterpretative purpose of Nanak's work. Instead it provides an example of a genre of Nath-oriented works, of which the primary example is the *Prān Sangli*. See note 742.

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If there be no objection, O Lord, grant that I may make a humble request.

How[652] does one attain to the condition said to be ineffable, boundless, and difficult of access?

Explain to me, O perfected Guru; reveal [it] in its manifold aspects.

Tell [me] the manner whereby one attains to the condition of undivided love [for God].

Explain to me, I pray you, how in thought, word and deed [one may attain to this condition].

Says Kabir : Hearken O perfected Guru.

How does one find the Saviour Lord? 1.

Satguru [Nanak] replied :

Hearken, O disciple, to one aspect of my teaching.

Purify your *man* and body; induce that state of ecstasy in which you hear only [the unstruck music of the divine World].

Abandon [notions of] both merit and demerit; attain mystical union by hearkening [to the divine Word, the Word which induces] ineffable beatitude.[653]

136b Remain ever alert; dwell in the condition of *Sahaj*.[654]

[651]In Sikh usage the title 'Bhagat' (*bhakta*, one who practises *bhakti*) is generally attached to Kabir's name. The same title is also used for Namdev, Ravidas, and the other Sants whose compositions (*bhagat bani*) appear at the end of each of the ragas of the Adi Granth. Here, and in most other early janam-sakhi instances, Kabir's name is spelt Kambir.

[652]*kit sevā*, 'by means of what service', i.e. by means of what devotional or ascetic discipline.

[653]*surati niratu*. These two terms are of primary importance in Nath doctrine and occur frequently in the Adi Granth particularly *surati*. The form *surati* is, in both these contexts, a cognate of *sruti* ('that which was heard', i.e the earlier Vedic literature as opposed to the *smrti*, or later law books, Epics, and Puranas). The audition indicated in the Adi Granth usage of the term is a 'hearing' of the divine Word (*śabad*) and accordingly *surati* is, in most instances, a virtual synonym for *simran* as used in *śabad simran* or *nām simaran* (remembrance of the divine Name). In some examples its usage virtually assumes the meaning of *man* (misleadingly translated 'mind'), for it is with the inner 'ear' of the *man* that one performs this variety of *surati*. The term *nirati*, translated here as 'ineffable beatitude', connotes the transcendent condition resulting from *surati*. As such it corresponds to the more common term *sahaj*. See Ch. Vaudeville, *Kabir Granthavali (Dohā)* (Pondichery, 1957), pp. xxiii-xxiv. Vir Singh *Santhyā Sri Gurū Granth Sahib* vol. 1 (Amritsar, 1958), p. 82. Kahn Singh, *Gurumat Mārtand* vol. 1 (Amritsar, 1962), p. 174. For *man* see *GNSR*, pp. 178-81.

[654]The condition of ineffable beatitude beyond all suffering, mutation, and transmigration; the mystical state of union with Nirankar, the [illegible] hich in the works of Guru Nanak constitutes the ultimate goal of h[illegible] nd the climax of the *nām simaran discipline*. *GNSR*, pp. 224-25. For the hatha-yoga background see M. Eliade, *Yoga : Immortality and Freedom* (London, 1958), pp. 268-69. See also note 410.

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Spurn *māyā*, remain pure, abandon the sins of the *man*.
Says Nanak: Hearken, O Kabir. In this manner one meets the infinite [Lord]. 2.

[Bhagat Kabir]:

Māyā is powerful, Master, [and I am but] your humble servant.
How can the [wayward] *man* be rendered stable?
Caught up in lust and anger I have lost the [art of] hearing [the divine Word and so have lost also] the ineffable beatitude [which it imparts].
If I lay hold of my *man* then my foot slips; if I keep my footing it is my *man* which goes [astray].
Tell me, Master, how *man*, body, and foot can [be made to] work in unison. 3.

[Satguru Nanak]:

Compose yourself in a posture of stillness, [my] son; apply your *man* to meditation on Him.
Eat little, sleep little,[655] and so burn away lust and anger.
[The *man* wanders hither and yon; concentrate it in a single place. Drink the nectar [of the divine Word], hearkening [to the Word which induces] ineffable beatitude.
Look without as you look within;[656] thus is the *man* reduced to subjection. 4.

[Bhagat Kabir]:

In what manner shall I sleep, in what manner awaken,
137a and by what means remain detached from the world?
In the smoke of what fire shall I perform austerities, and in what hut[657] shall I make my abode? 5.

[Satguru Nanak]:

Let hearing [of the divine Word] be your awakening, grace your sleeping; and perform austerities in the fire of Braham.
Search persistently [for inner enlightenment and] thus you shall remain detached from the world.
Hear this wisdom, O disciple, and to these qualities give expression:
By the Guru's grace attune your spirit to the Word [and

[655] Cf. *Sidh Goṣṭi* 8, *AG* p. 939.
[656] Apply the same exalted principles to your life in the world as you observe in your inward meditation.
[657] *marī*: a yogi's hut.

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so] find joy in the realm of rapture unutterable.[658] 6.

[Bhagat Kabir] :

None has shown the way of going there; by what miracle can one reach it ?
I am devastated by selfish affections; perfcet Guru, impart to me [knowledge of] the way.

[Satguru Nanak] :

Ascend to the moon[659] and you will see [all] worlds; there you shall never again suffer a lowly birth.[660]
Nanak says ; Hear O Kabir ! Thus does one attain to the condition of supreme enlightenment. 8.

[Bhagat Kabir] :

Blessings, blessings upon Guru Nanak whose presence with me has wrought my salvation !
[Hail to him], the Giver of Salvation !

THE SHABAD OF BHAGAT KABIR

137b Grant us [Thy] peace when we become [Thy] bhagats.
[In the Treta age Thou didst] confer divinity upon Janak Videha;[661]
In the Kali age [there came] Kabir the Julaha,[662]
His mind clotted, [his spirit] impatient.
In many [different] ways did he repeat [*mantras* and sacred names],
Yet his restless soul (*man*) found no satisfaction.
Defeated he fell at the door of the True Guru.
The Guru imparted the Name of God (*rām nām*); [thus] was he set free !
He found enlightenment when he abandoned the world;
And so was torn the net of Yam.[663]
Through the True Guru he came to a knowledge of the

[658] *sunī* (*śūnya*) : 'void'. See note 410.
[659] The reference is to the 'moon' of *haṭha-yoga*. See note 410.
[660] *chiṛī pher na hotā* : 'never again as an insect'.
[661] The first Raja Janak is called Janak Videha because he was, according to legend, born of a dead body (the body of Rishi Nimi). Walker i. 497. Videha became the name of his dynasty and kingdom, and because the second and more famous Janak belonged to this dynasty it is possible that the janam-sakhi reference should be applied to him rather than to his predecessor. The kingdom of Videha is identified with the area east of the Gandak river and north of the
[662] The depressed weaver caste to which Kabir belonged.
[663] Yam, the god of death, is commonly depicted as a hunter who sets snares to catch the unwary follower of worldly ways.

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True One and a thousand sorrows fled away.
Throughout all ages [let the name of] Guru Nanak be repeated, [proclaims his] lowly disciple Kabir !
Hearken to the teaching of the perfect True Guru, [and your] heart (*man*) shall be filled with joy.
It is Baba Nanak who is the Giver of Salvation; Ramanand is as nothing ![664]

138a Baba Nanak, the image of the Formless One, then vanished. He appeared in Kartarpur. *Kirtan* is performed and shabads are sung [in Kartarpur]. The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [relating] a discourse with Raja Sivanabh.[665]

ILLUSTRATION 32

[THE MERCHANT AND RAJA SIVANABH][666]

138b Now there was a certain Khatri, an indigent orphan, who had a daughter. He belong to a very poor family and survived only with great difficulty. [Being in such circumstances] he besought Baba [Nanak] ji : "Benefactor of the poor," [he said], "I have nothing and my daughter is unmarried. Grant something in God's name. Show mercy [towards a poor man]."

"Bring a list of whatever you need," commanded Baba [Nanak]. "We shall place an order."

The Khatri wrote down all the things required for the wedding and returned. Whatever was needed [he had noted]. Baba [Nanak then] commanded Bhagirath the Anad[667] : "Bhagirath, go to Lahore. You must bring back whatever articles are needed and have been written
139a down. If you remain [there] until the following day you

[664]The reference is to the belief, which gained wide currency in later medieval times, that Ramanand had been the guru of Kabir. The *Bhakta-māla* of Nabha Das lists Kabir as one of the disciples of Ramanand (v. 36) and the tradition which it records came to be accepted as firm historical fact. Although there is no reason to doubt that the work of Ramanand must have exercised some influence on Kabir the tradition which maintains a guru-disciple relationship must be regarded as legend. *GNSR*, p. 155. Ch. Vaudeville, *Au Cabaret de l'Amour* (Paris, 1959), p. 12. Parasu-ram Chaturvedi, *Uttari Bhārat ki Santparampara* (Prayag, 1951), pp. 224-25.

[665]The compiler's 'Sivabh' is obviously an error. In the course of the sakhi which follows and in all other versions of the same tradition the name is Sivanabh. In the table of contents, folio 228a (Arabic pagination), the name is spelt *s*

[666]This sakhi is analysed in *EST*.

[667]A Khatri *gotar*. Bhai Gurdas includes in his list of Guru Nanak's disciples a reference to 'one called Bhagirath of Mailsian who sang the praises of Kali'. *BG* 11:14. *SLTGN* (*Eng*), p. 44. Mailsian is a village near Sultanpur Lodi.

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will lose you one chance of salvation."[668]

Filled with fear [Bhagirath] arose and ran off. When he reached Lahore he went to a merchant[669] and said, "I need all these articles. Bring them and give them to me."

The merchant [looked at the list and] answered, "Stay today and by tomorrow I shall have everything ready."

"I must go," replied Bhagirath, "I cannot stay."

"Everything will be available [today] except for the set of bangles," said the merchant. "The bangles will be split and painted today, but it will be night [before they are ready]. Stay today, Bhagirath."

"I cannot wait the whole day,"[670] insisted Bhagirath.

"If you do not wait today [your] work cannot be completed," the merchant assured [him], and then repeated. "If you must have bangles prepared then wait until evening.

139b "If the work is not done today," replied Bhagirath, "and the order [which I received] is not carried out, then I shall lose my only chance of salvation."

"Brother !" exclaimed the merchant, "if anyone's master is harsh then the servant says, 'My master will ask [what I have been doing] and will cut my wages.' But you say that if [his] order is not carried out you will lose your only chance of salvation ! What kind of master do you have, that as a result of his wrath you forfeit salvation ?"

"My master is a Guru," replied Bhagirath, "and if I do not carry out his order I lose my opportunity."

"But brother," protested the merchant, "what guru can there be in this degenerate age[671] whose word will deprive you of your opportunity of salvation ?"

[668] Lit. 'your birth will be ruined', you will lose the opportunity of salvation afforded by birth as a human.

[669] *śāh bāṇīā* : money-lender/merchant. The use of the word *bāṇīā*, 'merchant', 'shop-keeper', or 'trader', does not mean that the person to whom it was applied must necessarily be understood as a member of the Banya caste. In this instance it is evident that the *bāṇīā* is intended to be understood not as a Banya but as a Khatri. The *bāṇīā* of this story subsequently sets sail on a trading voyage to some distant port (folio 140b). Such a venture would have been a natural step for many Khatris, but inconceivable for a Banya. The *bāṇīā's* colleagues are described as *vāpārī śāh lok*, 'traders and money-lenders' (folio 140b). Both *vāpārī* and *śāh* indicate Khatris rather than Banyas. Cf. R.C. Temple's observations concerning the usage of *śāh* :

> Shah, king, for Khatri, merchant, shopkeeper, banker. This has probably arisen from the confusion of *saḥ*, Hindi, a banker (whence the well-known word Sahukar, *vulgo*, sowcar) with *shah*, Pers., a king.
>
> —"Honorific Class Names in the Panjab", *IA*, vol [illegible] 8-19.

[670] *trekāl* (*trikāl*) : 'the three times' ; morning, noon, and eveni

[671] *kalikāl*, i.e. the Kaliyuga.

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"My Master is a Guru and an Exalted One (*Mahā-purukh*)," answered Bhagirath.

140a "Foolish fellow!" said the merchant. "Where in this degenerate age is there an Exalted One!"

"No, [you are mistaken]," replied Bhagirath. "My Guru is a perfected *Mahā-purukh*, the very image of God (*niranjan*)."

"Let us go," said the merchant. "I shall accompany you. In my house there is a [set of] bangles [already] painted. Keep what you have already tied in your bundle. If your guru proves to be an Exalted One, then he shall be not only your guru but mine also. And if he is not an Exalted One I shall deliver the articles and depart, taking the [full] price [for them]."

Bhagirath and the merchant set off together and came to Guru Baba [Nanak]. Before [they arrived] Baba [Nanak] declared: "Bhagirath, wherever you go your linger instead of bringing a reply." They heard that pronouncement

140b while they were still proceeding on their way. The portals of the merchant's [understanding] opened. "This is God!" [he exclaimed]. "This is [indeed] an Exalted One, perceiving all that is within a man's heart!" [Hastening on] he fell at [Baba Nanak's] feet.

And so the merchant found peace. As he beheld [Baba Nanak] and fell at his feet he was filled with joy. He stayed with Baba [Nanak] for three years before taking leave of him. [During those years] he committed to writing many of Baba [Nanak's] utterances [and in this manner] filled [several] volumes.

[Eventually] he took leave of the Guru and having left him returned home to Lahore. Summoning [other] traders he entrusted the entire stock of his shop to them. He [then proceeded down] to the sea and having laden a ship set sail for [the place] where Raja Sivanabh lived.[672] In that town he took up residence and began trading.

[It was his custom while living in that place] to sing *kirtan* until late at night. When it came to the last watch of the

[672]The *B40* text nowhere names the location of Raja Sivanabh's abode. The tradition that he lived in Singhaladip (Sri Lanka) which appears in the *Purātan* manuscripts and later janam-sakhi versions of the story of Sivanabh, is plainly an interpolation. It was evidently assumed that because the shopkeeper had to sail to 'where Raja Sivanabh lived' the location must be over the sea. This wo suggest Sri Lanka. See *GNSR*, pp. 114-17; W.H. McLeod, "Hakikat l..... ..... Raje Sivanabh Ki" in Fauja Singh (ed.), *Papers on Guru Nanak* (Patiala, 1970), pp. 96-105; and idem, "Inter-linear inscriptions in Sri Lanka" in *South Asia*.

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141a night[673] he would arise and bathe with cold water. The promise[674] of Guru Baba [Nanak] is that he who, in the last watch of the night, bathes with cold water and repeats the Guru's Name will receive nectar (*amrit*) at God's door and will merge [in mystical union] with the Unborn Self-Existent One (*ajonī sambho*).[675] Wherever there is a dwelling-place[676] of Guru Baba [Nanak], there he provides a [spiritual] heaven for [his] Sikhs. According to the Vedas[677] he who bathes during the [last] watch of the night. will receive merit equivalent to that earned by a donation of one and a quarter maunds of gold. He who bathes when four hours of the night have yet to elapse[678] will receive merit equivalent to that earned by a gift of one and a quarter maunds of rupees. He who bathes before the sun rises will receive merit equivalent to that earned by a donation of one and a quarter maunds of milk. He who bathes at daybreak will receive merit worth one and a quarter maunds of water. And to the person who bathes
141b after sunrise will be accounted neither merit nor sin.

This is what the Vedas have said. The promise of Guru Baba [Nanak] is: "A Sikh of mine who bathes at daybreak, pouring cold water over his head, will attain to the supreme state [of salvation]. He will find salvation in life, and in death also he will find salvation."

And so that merchant would bathe with cold water during the last watch of the night, repeat[679] [the divine Name], and read the *Śabad Pothī*[680] until daybreak. Then taking breakfast he would proceed on his worldy business. At night he would sing one of the Guru's shabads. Having

[673]The period from 3 a.m. to 6 a.m. The complete day is divided into eight watches (*pahar*) of equal length, with the divisions between night and day fixed at 6 a.m. and 6 p.m.

[674]*āgiā*, lit. command, injunction.

[675]The epithets *ajonī* (*ajūnī*, 'unborn') and *sambho* (*saibhan*, 'self-existent') are used in the *Mūl Mantra* (*AG*, p. 1) to designate two of the basic attributes of God.

[676]The word used is *nivās*, but the meaning is evidently *dharam-sālā*.

[677]Vir Singh, commenting on the same statement in the *Hāfizābād* text, writes: 'By *bed* the writer means not the Vedas but some other scripture.' *Pur JS*, p. 76, n.*. It is difficult to see what 'other scripture' could be called the Vedas. A more likely explanation appears to be that the author of this digression on matutinal bathing had no knowledge of the actual contents of the Vedas.

[678]During the last hour of the third watch of the night (2-3 a.m.).

[679]*japu pari kari*. The narrator may perhaps be referring to the practice of repeating Guru Nanak's *Japjī Sāhib* every morning.

[680]"The Book of the Word", or "Collected Shabads", a collection of the compositions of Guru Nanak. The reference may be intended to apply to the volumes recorded by the shopkeeper during his sojourn with the Guru (folio 140b).

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sung it he would perform [more] *Kirtan* and then would sleep.

[In contrast to this pattern] the people of that place used to arise and bathe after dayback. On Dvadasi[681] they would apply a *tilak*, and on Sundays, Amavas,[682] and Ekadasi[683] they would fast. They [also] worshipped idols and visited temples.

142a The merchant, however, neither fasted nor worshipped idols, nor [did he observe] any of the customs [associated with] Amavas or Sunday. Any Hindu who went there was declared unclean by the people who lived there, [and soon the people] began to murmur against the shopkeeper. Eventually a report reached Raja Sivanabh. "Sire, this marchant behaves in an abominable fashion. He observes neither fasting nor religious regulations. On Sundays, Ekadasi and Amavas he does not fast. [He does not worship] the gods and he does not visit temples. Such behaviour is abominable."

"Go," commanded the Raja, "summon the merchant and bring him here. Let me see [him]. I shall ask him why he
142b does such things when he has been born a Hindu."

The Raja's messengers summoned the merchant and brought him. [When] he arrived [he respectfully greeted the raja with the words] "Ram Ram." He then bowed, offered a coconut, [and in this manner] approached [the Raja].

The Raja then questioned him. "Merchant, you were born a Hindu [and yet] you do not observe fasting, religious discipline, nor [idol] worship. Why do you not do so ?"

"Sire," replied the merchant, "I have [already] obtained that thing for which you perform fasts, religious observances, and discipline. Why then should I fast and perform [these] religious observances ?"

"What is this things that you have obtained, from which you have derived [such] joy ?" asked the Raja.

"I have been in the presence of an Exalted One, sire," answered [the merchant], "One whose presence imparts

[681]The twelfth day of the lunar month.

[682]The last day of the dark half of each lunar month.

[683]*ekādasī* (Pbi. *ikādasī*) : the eleventh day of each half of the lunar month. For Vaisnavas the consumption of grains is prohibited on this day. Only fruit vegetables, and milk are permitted.

To fast on this holy day and to offer *puja* to Vishnu is to ensure the ness of sins and the gratification of all one's wishes.

—J.A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 702-3.

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salvation."

143a And did you derive satisfaction from his presence ?" enquired the Raja.

"Sire, if one has met God how can there be any question of [mere] satisfaction !" responded the merchant.

"Is it possible, merchant, that there could be such an Exalted One in the Kaliyuga ?" asked the Raja. "[Could there possibly be, in this degenerate age,] one whose presence brings salvation ?"

"It is Guru Baba Nanak, sire," he replied. "He who repeats his name finds salvation."

"Recite his saying to me," commanded the Raja, "for from his saying it will be possible to recognise what manner of man he must be."

The merchant then made known the sacred utterances (*bāṇī*) of Baba [Nanak] ji and when he had heard these sacred utterances Raja Sivanabh was content. The Raja understood the sacred utterances of Guru Baba [Nanak]. "Brother merchant," he declared, "he who uttered these sayings is my Guru."

[And so] Raja Sivanabh became a believer (*sikh*) in the
143b Word of Guru Baba [Nanak]. "Brother merchant," he said, "take me with you to where Guru Baba Nanak is, that I [too] may behold his presence (*darśan*)."

"If you travel thus, sire, then who knows whether or not you can get there ?" replied the merchant. "If, however, you worship him in your heart he will meet you here, at this very spot.

"Tell me in what place Guru Baba [Nanak] lives," said Raja Sivanabh.

"Sire," came the reply, "fifteen on sixteen *kos* from Lahore,[684] on the bank of the river, there has been built [the village of] Kartarpur. That is where Guru Nanak lives. There [too], across the Ravi, is Talvandi, [the village] of Rai Bhoa the Bhatti, where Baba [Nanak] ji was born. And on the nearer side [of the river] Kartarpur has been built.[685] There the Exalted One dwells—[though in
144a fact] he [dwells] in all places, and wherever he is worshipped there he is present."

"Then let us proceed to Lahore so that having gone [there] I may behold his presence," said the Raja.

[684]The *Hāfizābād* text adds : 'in the land of Panjab'. *Pur JS*,

[685]Here the narrator's geographical knowledge is at fault. Talvandi and Kartarpur are both on the right bank of the Ravi, the former at some distance from it and the latter immediately beside the river.

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"Sire," replied the merchant, "the nature of an Exalted One is such that he who sets out [to visit him] can never reach [his destination]. Worship him in your heart[686] for Guru Baba [Nanak] is one who perceives all that is within a man's heart. He will meet you here in this very place."

Raja Sivanabh accepted this and the merchant then departed. At the time of his departure he assured [Sivanabh]: "Rajaji, the Guru will visit you, and you will be unable to hide [from him]. Who knows in what form he may come to bestow [the joy of] his presence upon you. [He may come] in the form of a yogi, or that of a Brahman; as a faqir, a Digambar, a bairagi, a Khatri, a pandit, or
144b [even] in the guise of a profligate.[687] And so it will not be known in what form he will appear to you. He is the Eternal One. Be alert!" Then having laden a ship the merchent sailed west from there.[688]

[BABA NANAK AND RAJA SIVANABH]

After [the merchant's departure] the Raja was desolate [yearning for] the presence of Guru Baba [Nanak]. For [the whole of] that day, throughout all eight watches[689] whether lying down, arising, sitting, sleeping or waking—he longed continually for Guru Baba [Nanak]. His heart harboured no other desire. At all times he thought only of Baba [Nanak].

Then the Raja summoned the most beautiful of slave-girls and instructed them: "Report the arrival of any sadhu. Attend to his needs whether he be a sanyasi, brahamachari,
145a yogi, Digambar, Vaisnava, Hindu or Muslim. Whether he comes in the form of a faqir, an ascetic (*atīt*), or a dervish attend to his needs. Serve him in such a manner that he takes leave of his senses." In the Raja's mind there was this [idea], that if there should be any perfect master of the passions his commitment to righteousness (*dharma*) would survive [such temptations]. In this degene-

[686]*ātmā*: spirit.

[687]*bekaid* (*beqaid*). This is presumably intended to indicate an adherent of tantric beliefs, one who practised the five execrable rites (the *pāñcmakār*, or 'five m's'). The *Ādi Sākhīs* catalogue of possible disguises omits *bairāgī* pandit, and profligate, but adds *sanyāsī*, *vaisnav*, *mukadam* (*muqaddam*), Hindu, and Muslim. *AS*, p. 64. The *Hāfizābād* list omits pandit and profligate, but adds *sanyāsī*, *brahamachārī*, *qalandar*, Hindu, and Muslim. *Pur JS*, p. 77.

[688]The *Hāfizābād* version omits this detail, possibly because it would confl identification (following *Colebrooke*) of Singhaladip (Sri Lanka) as the location of Raja Sivanabh's kingdom. *Pur JS*, pp. 77, 86.

[689]For the full period of twenty-four hours.

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rate age [Kaliyuga] Baba Nanak [alone] is the perfect Guru and by this stratagem, [thought the Raja], he will be discovered. Apart from this there could be no other way of discovering [his identity].

Baba Nanak is the perfected one who perceives all that is in a man's heart. Because of the Raja's devotion he appeared there (in the Raja's domain). Now there was a garden [there] which had stood withered for many years. Along all four sides was a wall. A door had been let [into it, but] no one could either enter or leave [through it]. Baba Nanak, [however], entered the garden and as soon as he set foot in it the garden blossomed.

145b The people who saw it blossom were thunderstruck. "By God !" [they cried], "The garden was withered [and now] it has become green ! What miracle is this !"

Then the gardener came to see the garden. He ran [there] and when he arrived what should he see but [the garden] in full bloom. There was the door [in the wall] so opening it the gardener entered.

ILLUSTRATION 33

146a When he went into [the garden he saw] a faqir sitting cross-legged, rapt in meditation, and seeing him he was amazed. [Thus] the gardener beheld the presence of Guru Baba [Nanak]. "Brother !" he exclaimed. "This garden which stood withered for many years has blossomed ! Blessings upon my destiny that I have witnessed this !"

The gardener [respectfully] withdrew [from the garden and] ran to Raja Sivanabh. "Noble Raja !" he cried, "a faqir has entered the withered garden and from his appearance it seems that he is just like God !"

"Go !" said the Raja to the slave-girls. "Go and see the ascetic. Let us see what kind of ascetic he is." If anyone came—whether ascetic, master ascetic, yogi, or

146b sanyasi—those slave-girls would go and then return [having shown that the visitor's ascetic principles were not inviolable]. They imagined that this faqir [who had just arrived] would be another such [frail ascetic].

The slave-girls departed and approaching Baba [Nanak] they sat down around him. They then began to tempt him. They tried to entice him with their eyes, they murmured sweet and soothing words, they [illegible] the most tasty kinds of food and set them [illegible], and they laid before him the most splendid garments and the

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most excellent of dried fruits. [In this manner] they waited upon Baba [Nanak] ji. Some were twelve years old, some were sixteen, some fifteen, and some eighteen. Their alluring appearance was like that of the Kamkandalas,[690] the seductive sirens of Raja Indra;[691] or like the four temptresses of Vaikunth.[692] Whoever looked upon them [even such] supermen[693] and sages [as] the sons of Brama[694] and [the line of saintly heroes from] Janak onwards[695] [or]
147a ascetics and master ascetics such as Rishi Sringa[696]—would have lost their heads.

"Eat something," they said to Baba [Nanak] ji. "Put on some [of these garments]. Take whatever pleasure your heart craves. Tell us what you desire. Let our desire [to serve you] be fulfilled."

Guru Baba Nanak [responded by] singing a shabad in

[690]*apasarā* : maidens sent by Indra to seduce any ascetic who might be undergoing severe austerities.

[691]Indra, the Vedic god of war and of the firmament, noted for his feasting, drinking, and a moral sensuality.

> His libertine character is also shown by his frequently sending celestial nymphs to excite the passions of holy men, and to beguile them from the potent penances which he dreaded.
>
> —John Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology* (London, 1961), p. 126.

[692]*chatar (chār) nāikā* : the 'four mistresses', or 'four varieties of women', with specific reference to their physical endowments and differing capacities for sexual intercourse. In erotic literature the masculine form *nāika* designates a male lover. According to the *Kāmaśastras* there are four (sometimes three) varieties of *nāika*, viz. *śaśa* (hare), *mriga* (buck), *vriṣabha* (bull), and *aśva* (horse). These four are matched by four corresponding varieties of female partners, viz. *padminī* (lotus), *chitrinī* (painting), *śankhinī* (conch) and *hastinī* (elephant). These are the *chār nāikā*. In order to achieve sexual satisfaction a man should cohabit with a woman of the category corresponding to his own. Walker II.19, 434-35. The *chār nāikā* have no particular connection with Vaikunth (or Baikunth), the Paradise of Visnu, and it is evident that the narrator had only a vague notion of the meaning of the term. The translation 'four temptresses' probably approximates to his understanding and intention.

[693]*suranar* : beings endowed with both human and divine qualities ; men endowed with superhuman qualities.

[694]*sanakādak* : 'Sanak, etc.', the four mind-born 'sons', or *kumār*, of Brahma (Sanak, Sanand, Sanatan, and Sanat-kumar).

[695]*janakādak* : 'Janak, etc.'

[696]*singī rikhi* (*ṛṣya śṛnga*) : Rishi Sringa (the 'deer-horned'), the mighty ascetic seduced by courtesans whom King Lompada had despatched in order to bring him to Anga and there terminate a drought. *Rāmayana* I. 9-11. *Mahābhārata* III. 110-113. E.B. Cowell (ed.), *The Jataka or Stories of the Buddh Births*, vol. v, pp. 79-84, 100-106. For the differing versions of the n... discussion of their significance see Wendy Doniger O' Flaherty, *Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva* (London, 1973), pp. 42-50.

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Basant raga.[697]

Rāg Basant

He who is worldly is [like] a crow, heedless of the divine Name.
Forgetful of the Name and trembling [instead] before a horoscope ![698]
[His] *man* is submerged [699] [borne down by] the vice which it harbours.
[Observing this I have] broken the bonds of the erring [understanding which bound me] to the world. 1.

Lust and wrath are poison; heavy the burden [one must bear].
Without the divine Name how can [one attain to] virtue ?
Refrain

[Can] a house of sand [be built upon] a whirlpool ?
Or can there be rain without drops of water ?[700]
[Man] is moulded from a mother's [ovum and a father's] sperm.[701]
[His salvation lies in] submission to the divine Name, [to Him] who dwells immanent in all. 2.

Creator of all, the Supreme Guru !
Thee I adore and at Thy feet I fall.
147b Let me be wholly absorbed in [Thy] Name, wholly[702] turned towards [Thee].
A thief is he who conceals [Thy] Name ! 3.

A woman[703] desires elegance and carnal delights,
Betel-leaf, flowers, the [transient] sweetness [which turns to] anguish.

[697] *Basant Aṣṭ* 1, *AG* p. 1187. The reason for introducing the *aṣṭapadī* at this point appears to be a misconstruing of the first line of the final stanza. The word *mohan*, designating God, has evidently been understood as *mohinī*, an alluring woman. The *B40* version given here differs in numerous details from that of the Adi Granth.

[698] *grih dekhahi* (*grah dekhnā*). *AG* : *giraī dekhu.*

[699] *ḍube*. *AG* : *ḍolai*, 'shivers'.

[700] *AG* : *barakhasī bāṇī budabudā heri*. '[It is as durable as] the bubles one sees formed by rain.'

[701] *AG* : *mātr būnd te dhari chaku pheri*. 'Man is moulded from a mere drop of sperm.'

[702] *tani*, '[my] body'. *AG* : *tujh*, 'Thee'.

[703] The 'woman' signifies mankind. Perverse man seeks hi... ...orldly pursuits rather than in the ineffable joy of mystical union with the divine Bridegroom.

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She reveals and makes merry, but all must turn to lamentation.
Let her cast herself upon the Lord's mercy and all her deeds will find fulfilment.[704] 4.

He who lays up the poison [of worldliness] destroys his [own] honour ;
[Whereas] he who is steeped in the Truth[705] marches to [his heavenly] home in triumph.
All that the Lord does He performs according to His will.
[When one perceives this], O my mother,[706] [all] fear flees from one's heart.[707] 5.

She arrays herself in fine garments, adorning herself in diverse ways.
[And beholding her] appearance she is filled with pride, [forgetting that such] beauty must fade.
Hopes and yearnings, infinite in number, [rule her] mind.[708]
Without the divine Name there must be a void in [her] heart. 6.

Array[709] [yourself in seemly garments], O princess.
Repeat the divine Name [and thereby] deck [yourself] with beauty.
Serve the Master, love and cherish [Him], the Lord;
Serve [Him], the Guru, the Lord who quenches your thirst.[710] 7.

[Thou], the Enchanter,[711] hast captivated my heart.
By the Guru's Word I have come to know Thee.
148a Nanak desires only the door of the Lord;[712]

[704] *AG* stanza 5.
[705] *AG* : *sāch nāmi*, 'in the True Name'.
[706] *bhaī manāhi nirabhau*, 'within [one's] *man* there arises fearlessness'. *AG* : *bhaī mānai nirabhau*, normally construed as : 'He who has fear of God [becomes] fearless.'
[707] *AG* stanza 4. The subject of the sixth stanza indicates that the Adi Granth order is correct.
[708] *AG* : *āsā manasā bāndho bāru*. 'Hopes and longings bar the door [to salvation]'.
[709] *kāchhahu*. *AG* : *gāchhahu*, 'Begone !'
[710] *AG* : Begone, O princess !
Repeat the True Name [and thereby] deck [yourself] with beauty.
Serve the Beloved ; lean upon the love of the Lord.
Let the Guru's Word drive away [your] thirst for poison.
[711] *mohan* : alluring, seductive, enchanting. An epithet of Krisna, here used to designate God.
[712] *AG* : *nānak ṭhāḍhe chāhahi prabhū duārī*. 'Nanak desires only to stand at the door of the Lord.'

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Mercifully gather me into the joy of Thy Name. 8.

Having sung this *aṣṭapadī* for the slave-girls' benefit Baba [Nanak] ji said, "If one does not sing [the praises] of God all is vain." [And then] he sang another shabad in praise of God, [a shabad in] *Āsā* raga. [In this manner] he bestowed upon them the adornment of the jewellery and garments of [inner] peace, and so instilled [within their hearts love of] the divine Name.

Rāg Āsā[713]

Let the woman[714] take her *man* as a pearl and, like a jewel, string it on the thread or [her] breath.[715]
Let her deck herself with the adornment of forgiveness, [for thus] shall she enjoy her Beloved. 1.

The woman is enraptured by Thy manifold attractions, O Beloved.
None can allure like Thee. *Refrain*

Repeating the Lord's Name is as a garland around her neck; [remembrance of] Damodar[716] a cleansing twig.[717]
The performance [of this discipline] is as a bangle worn [on her wrist];[718] in this manner does she subdue her [wayward] mind. 2.

148b Let the woman wear God[719] as her ring, and God as her silken garment.
Let patience be the adorning of the parting in her hair, and God[720] the *surmā* which she applies [to her eyes]. 3.

If she light the lamp [of divine wisdom] in the temple of her *man*, and spread her body as a bed;
Then, O Nanak, when to this couch comes the Lord of Wisdom she shall know the bliss of union [with Him]. 4.

[When they heard this] a great peace descended upon them. The inner fire had been extinguished. By Baba

[713] *Āsā* 35, *AG* p. 359.
[714] Devotee.
[715] The reference is to the practice of repeating the divine Name with each breath.
[716] An epithet of Krisna ; God.
[717] The twig used for brushing teeth.
[718] *AG* : *kar karl karatā kangan pahirai.* 'The Creator is worn as a bracelet on her wrist.'
[719] *madhu-sūdan* : 'Slayer of Madhu', Krisna.
[720] *śrī-rang* : 'Enjoyer of Sri [Laksmi]', Visnu.

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[Nanak's] discourse and by his presence it was stilled [and in its place] there welled up divine understanding. With the shedding of ignorance evil understanding was cast aside. Returning to the dwelling of Siva [nabh] they stood [outside and] began to chant, "Guru, Guru." Through the teachings of the Exalted One they had obtained the joy [which comes from realisation of] the Truth and had been engulfed in the blissful awareness which had dawned upon them. Just as the partridge[721] remains transfixed by the
149a moon, so they remained transfixed by the presence of Baba [Nanak] ji. Having drunk from the cup of Love they had become intoxicated, ecstatic ! As water merges with water, so they had been swallowed up in [an ecstasy of] love and adoration.

ILLUSTRATION 34

149b They then went to the Raja. The Raja, who had previously [made a habit of] calling them [for their company] was summoning them [again. This time, however] the slave-girls announced : "Rajaji from now on do not jest with us. Now you are our father."

The Raja was astounded. "By God !" [he said to himself], "they would not leave me for even half an hour[722] and now they have started calling me a father ! They have met the Exalted One !"

The Raja then asked the slave-girls, "What has happened to you ?"

"Rajaji," they replied, "that which has happened to us has snatched us from hell and brought us to blessedness. This Exalted One whose presence we have beheld has wiped
150a clean for us the record of many [evil] deeds.[723] We have been granted salvation."[724]

Then the Raja realised that it was indeed the Exalted One. He had had come ! He arose and departed from there. When he reached [the garden] the Exalted One was

[721] *chakor* : the Greek partridge (*Allectoris graeca*) which is found in the higher areas of Kashmir and eastwards along the Himalayas. According to legend it is fascinated by the moon, and is said to comsume moonbeams and fire. Its moon-fixation serves (as in this instance) as a conventional simile for firm adherence to any person, object, or belief.

[722] *ghari* : twenty-four minutes. They continually sought his company f reasons.

[723] *ankūr* : fate ; the destiny compounded from the sum total of one's deeds ; *karma*.

[724] *sādh* : fulfilment (of the quest for Truth).

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standing ahead of him with his back turned. The Raja also went and stood [there]. Baba [Nanak] ji left the tree [beside which he had been standing] and stood [beside] another tree. Following him the Raja also stood [near the other tree]. For some days Baba Nanak proceeded on [in this manner, with] Raja Sivanabh following behind, [until eventually], after several days had passed, Baba Nanak went and sat at [his] place of meditation.[725]

And then Baba Nanak asked, "Are you well, Raja ?"

"By your grace I am well, Sir," replied the Raja.

"Are you in good health, Raja," enquired Baba [Nanak], "and are you happy ?"

150b "By your grace I am well today," answered the Raja," [for] I have beheld your presence."

[726]The Raja could not, [however], determine whether Baba [Nanak really] was Baba [Nanak] or someone else. He had earlier recorded the information that Baba [Nanak] the Guru is of the Khatri caste and the Bedi sub-caste, that his home is in Kartarpur, and that he was born in Talvandi, [the village] of Rai Bhoa the Bhatti. The idea occurred to the Raja that he should ask [him who he was], and so he said :[727]

Master, where is Thy Name [to be discerned] ? How art Thou to be known.[728]

When Thou dost summon me within Thy palace[729] let me enquire [of Thee the way of mystical] union.

Then the Raja asked, "Master, are you a yogi ?" Baba [Nanak] replied by singing a shabad in *Mārū* raga.[730]

[725]*singhāsan* : a seat designated for a particular purpose ; normally 'throne', but here evidently a place chosen for meditation.

[726]This portion of the sakhi has been constructed out of the shabad which it incorporates. The *Purātan* and *Bālā* traditions record simpler, less developed versions of the same discourse. *Pur JS*, p. 87. *Bālā JS*, pp. 122-23.

[727]The couplet which follows is the refrain of Guru Nanak's *Mārū* 11, *AG* p. 992. The narrator has here put the refrain of the shabad into Raja Sivanabh's mouth, and made the remainder of the shabad serve as Baba Nanak's answers to Sivanabh's questions.

[728]*jātī*. The narrator has construed it to mean *jāti*, 'caste', and has interpreted the first clause of Guru Nanak's apostrophe as an enquiry concerning the Guru's own name. In this sense the line would have to be translated :

Master, what is your name and what your caste ?

[729]The narrator has here understood the 'palace' to be an earthly structure and has accordingly put the invitation into the mouth of Raja Sivanabh. This would require the following translation :

Let me invite you within [my] palace, that I may enquire [of you the way of mystical] union [with God].

[730]*Mārū* 11, *AG* p. 992.

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Rāg Mārū

No particle of filth [will be found] on the yogi [who chooses] the path [of meditation on] the spotless Name.
The beloved Master, the eternally True One, dwells
151a [within him, and thus for him] is ended the transmigratory round.

The Raja then asked, "Master, are you a Brahman?" Baba [Nanak] replied :

The Brahman [who would find] Brahma [must] bathe in [the waters of divine] wisdom, and worship God with the leaves of virtue.
There is but one divine Name, one God, one Light illumining the three worlds. 2.

The Raja then asked, "Master, are you a Khatri?" Baba [Nanak] replied :

Let [my] tongue be the rod [of a measuring balance, my] heart [its] scale, and therein let me weight the illimitable Name.
There is but one shop, [the world, with its one] Master [He who] controls all [other dealers], traders of many kinds.[731] 3.

[732]The Raja then said, "Master, tell me [about] one world—[either this world or the next]—so that I may understand [in which of them salvation is to be found]. Let me hear from an Exalted One [such] words as [only] an Exalted One [can utter]." Baba [Nanak] replied :

The True Guru imparts salvation both in this [world] and the next. He who dwells in enraptured union with God, from whose understanding all error has been purged he it is who perceives this.
151b [He it is who] enshrines the divine Word [in his being, who] banishes doubt [from his mind, and who] day and night offers eternal praise [to the Lord]. 4.

"Sir," said the Raja, "I have not yet managed to discover your caste or lineage, but do [at least] tell me where your home is, so that if you mention the name Talvandi I shall know that [you are] the one [for whom I have been waiting]." The Raja then asked, "Master,

[731]*AG* : *ik bhāti*, 'of one kind'.

[732]The *Hāfizābād* manuscript here inserts the question : 'Sire, are you a Muslim?' *Pur JS*, p. 87, n. *. The *Colebrooke* manuscript omits all questions and instead brackets the third and fourth stanzas in a single quotation. The *Ādi Sākhīs* agrees with *B40*. *AS*, p. 68.

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in what place[733] is your home[734] ?" Baba [Nanak] replied :

Above is the sky wherein dwells Gorakh, and there too dwells his ineffable Guru.[735]
By the Guru's guiding I have perceived the One in all that lies around me ; [and so from all worldly concern] Nanak has become detached. 5.

When he said, "Nanak has become detached" the Raja cried, "It really is Nanak !" He was overjoyed. "Blessed is my destiny that I should have met a perfect Guru such as [this," he exclaimed], "and that I should have obtained the [inestimable privilege of] beholding his presence !"

152a The Raja reverently walked around[736] [Baba Nanak] and then fell at his feet. "My Lord," he declared, "all things are known to thee ! There is no need for me to relate [what is in my mind], for thou art the reader of inward thoughts. Thou art the supreme God ![737] It is beyond the mind's capacity to comprehend anything of [thy] worth and beyond the tongue to utter even a [tiny] measure of [thy] praise. Ears are unable to hear anything else, eyes to see anything else. Feet do not possess the power to go elsewhere, nor the body the strength to serve any other. Merciful and gracious One, Lord of the lowly, Fulfiller of desires, and revered Guru, graciously bestow thy compassion upon thy disciple. True Lord, kindly grace
152b [my] dwelling."

"Go Raja," commanded Guru Baba [Nanak]. "Go, prepare a dharamsala and return.

ILLUSTRATION 35

153a Then I shall go [with you]."

[733] *dharti* : lit. 'earth' or 'land', but without necessarily suggesting the defined boundaries and substantial area implied in the usage of the English word 'land'.

[734] In the *Purātan* version the raja's question at this point is : 'Are you Gorakhnath ?' *Pur JS*, p. 87. The stanza which follows indicates the genesis of this question.

[735] The meaning of this line is obscure. There seems to be little doubt that the word *gagan*, 'sky', is being used in its Nath sense of the mystic void into which the liberated *jīv* ascends to supreme bliss (a sense in which it corresponds to *śūnya*). See note 410. The identity of Gorakh it, however, uncertain. Although the reference to the *gagan* of the Naths suggests that he may be Gorakhnath it is difficult to harmonise this possibility with the remainder of the line. Another possibility is that the reference could be to God (*go-rakh*).

[736] *pradakṣiṇā* : the reverential circumambulation of a venerated person, object, or place. The movement is performed in a clockwise dir[illegible]ng the right side towards the person or object of veneration.

[737] *pārabraham parameśvar*.

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In obedience to the command which he had been given the Raja went and prepared a dharamsala. He erected [a building] in a most secluded place, plastering [the floor] with a plane[738] and spreading out small straw mats. Then he returned to Baba [Nanak] in order to conduct him [to the dharamsala]. When he arrived, [however], he discovered that Baba [Nanak] was no longer there. [Overcome with grief] he fell senseless at the very place where he was standing.

The Raja's attendants ran [to him] crying, "O God! Whatever has happened to the Raja? He returned here and collapsed." Taking hold of him they sat him up, following which [some] people came running [and said], "Rajaji, the Babaji has gone to the house[739] and is sitting
153b [inside]. Come, the Babaji is calling you."

"Wondrous is thy power!" cried the Raja. "Now am I restored to my senses. Like a parched and gasping fish returning to water, [or] like the piping cuckoo[740] when it receives a shower of nectar, so has my life surged back in rapture and in ecstasy. I knew that in his travels Baba [Nanak] ji would [eventually] come." The Raja went and reverently walking round him prostrated himself, [declaring], "I am thine! I am thine![741]

Then the Raja, [believing that Baba Nanak would soon leave him], began to wail and lament. Baba [Nanak] ji showed mercy towards him and remained there for many days. He spoke many [divine] sayings [and while] there he composed the *Prāṇ Saṅgalī*.[742] Many were the disciples
154a (*sikh*) he made. There is as much land on this side of the ocean as there is over the ocean.[743] Sivanabh was the

[738] *gajā* : a wooden tool for smoothing plaster ; a float.

[739] Presumably to the dharamsala.

[740] *Ċhātrik* (*chātak*, also known as the *papīhā*), the piedcrested cuckoo (*Coccystes melanoleucos*) Which according to popular belief lives on raindrops. Abu al-Fazl describes it as follows :

> The *Papīha* is smaller than the *Koel*, with a shorter and slenderer tail. Its love is chanted in story. It is in full song in the beginning of the rainy season and has a peculiar note and its plaintive strain is heard oftenest at night, and makes love's unhealed wounds bleed anew. It is from its note that the word *Pīu* is taken, which in Hindi signifies 'beloved'.
>
> —*Ā'īn* III.121-22.

In devotional literature the chatrik is commonly used as a conventional image symbolising the soul's yearning for God. Cf. folio 200b.

[741] *balihāre jāu* : lit. 'I become a sacrifice (to thee).'

[742] "The Chain of the Breath". See note 650.

It is possible that the word *saṅglī* may have encouraged the subsequent identification of Sivanabh's kingdom with Sri Lanka (Singhaladip, or Sangal-dvip).

[743] This stray reference is taken from the *Bhāgauata Purāṇa v. 20.35.*

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Raja of that town. "Glory ! Glory !" cried everyone in that country. "Glory, glory, glory to Baba Nanak !"[744] [while] there he brought fame to the Raja of that place. That Raja has constructed a dharamsala and has preached the divine Word. A hundred maunds of salt are used in his kitchen.[745] Having brought salvation [to the people] of that place and having circulated [his] divine sayings [throughout the area] Guru Baba Nanak departed.

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows: Baba [Nanak] visited Kabul.

154b [HOW] BABA [NANAK] JI VISITED KABUL[746]

Once while proceeding on his travels Baba [Nanak] ji came to Kabul. Arriving there he entered a mosque and sat down. A Turkish mullah [who observed him there] cried, "You are a Hindu ! Begone ! This is no place for you. This is the qazi's mosque." And so the mullah would not let Baba [Nanak] sit there.

Baba [Nanak, however] asked him, "Mullah, can you prevent the mosque [from moving] ?"

"[Certainly] I can prevent it," retorted the mullah.

Baba [Nanak] then climbed onto the mosque, and having ascended it he made it move around Kabul.

[744] *vāh vāh Bābā Nānak vāh.*

[745] The frequency with which this obscure detail is mentioned elsewhere suggests that it must be the remanant of a very popular story. In the different versions the actual quantity of salt varies. Two of the *Ādi Sākhīs* texts (the Sikh Reference Library and Moti Bagh Palace manuscripts) specify five maunds, whereas the *Ādi Sākhīs* manuscript in the possession of S. Shamsher Singh Ashok enlarges this figure to five hundred maunds. *AS*, p. 69. The *Purātan* janam-sakhis give twenty-one maunds and imply that this was the daily consumption. It indicates, however, that the consumption was in the congregational kitchen, not in that of the raja. *Pur JS*, p. 89. The *Hakikat Rāh Mukām Rāje Sivanābh kī* mentions the detail in a description of the sangat which met during the days of Sivanabh's grandson. It states :

> Twenty maunds of salt are used in the kitchen every day.
> —W.H. McLeod, op. cit., p. 97.

The *Bālā* janam-sakhis omit the detail altogether. *B40* is at this point following the *Q1* manuscript. The actual weight of a maund has varied considerably during the last four hundred years and regional variations are still encountered. Prior to the time of Akbar the commonest maund evidently weighed 28 or 29 lbs. avoirdupois. Akbar's edict concerning the weight of a *seer* resulted in a maund of 55$\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. avoirdupois, or approximately half a hundred weight. W. H, Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar* (London, 1920), p. 53. The standard modern maund, where it is still used, weighs 100 lbs. troy, or 82-$\frac{2}{7}$ lbs. avoirdupois. See not 771.

[746] At this point the *B40* compiler takes up his *Narrat...* ... . See Introduction. pp. 12-13.

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"This is a mighty pir!" declared all the [astounded] Muslims, "A confident of God!" [To Baba Nanak] they cried, "Baba ji, thou whom God has created, by [the power of] your nearness to Him make the mosque stand still."

155a Baba [Nanak] brought the mosque to a halt and everyone fell at his feet. Baba [Nanak] then said [to them], "You [Muslims] worship the left foot and Hindus worship the right." Hindus and Muslims [both] began ministering to his needs. [While] there Baba Nanakji had the people call him Baba Aughar.[747] There [also] Baba Nanak taught those whom he had made Sikhs [the three-fold discipline of repeating] the divine Name, [giving] charity, and [regular] bathing.

[WATER RESTORED TO A LAND OF GIANTS]

Leaving there Baba [Nanak] ji entered a land of giants.[748] When he arrived he observed that there was no water and that as a result of this absence of water the people were suffering greatly. Baba [Nanak] constructed a pond upon a hill [and also] built a dharamsala. The Raja [of that area] became a Sikh, together with his people. They chanted "Guru, Guru" sang the compositions [of Baba Nanak], and attended to the needs of [other] Sikhs.

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows: A sakhi concerning [a visit to] the land of Bhutan.

155a ILLUSTRATION 36

156b [A VISIT TO BHUTAN]

Baba Nanak visited the land of Bhutant.[749] Arriving there he tarried in a garden and any who came to pay their

[747] *augharu*: 'opposed to family life'; renunciant. *MK*, p. 18. The title evidently means 'the Baba who has renounced the life of a householder'. Cf. *NPr* II. 14 (114). The term Aughar is normally used to designate Gorakhnathi novitiates who have not yet undergone the Kanphat initiation ceremony in which their ears are split. G. W. Briggs, *Gorakhnāth and the Kānphaṭa Yogis* (Calcutta, 1938), pp. 10, 27, 30-31, 33.

[748] *Mahā lok*.

[749] Bhutant has inevitably but erroneously been identified with the modern state of Bhutan, bounded by Assam, Bengal, Sikkim and Tibet. *MK*, p. 689 and Addendum, p. 83. Vir Singh (ed.) *Srī Gur Nānak Prakāś*, vol. iv (Amritsar, 1962), p. 877, n. †. Bhutan, or Bhutant, means simply "Tibetan land". (*bhoṭṭ, bhauṭṭa*, 'Tibetan, Tib. *bod*, 'Tibet'). It was accordingly used for area in which Tibetan culture predominated and was not narrowed down to its present restricted meaning until the British period. A janam-sakhi written in

(Contd. to next page)

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respects remained sitting there [with him. Transfixed by his presence] they could not arise, nor could they return to [their] homes. Word was passed around the land that an Exalted One had come to the land. "He neither eats nor drinks," [said the people], "nor does he speak to anyone. Nothing does he ask for and nothing does he take. He is a most serene faqir."

When the raja of that place heard [the news] he visited Baba [Nanak]. He came bringing fine things, [things] to eat [and things] to wear, and when he arrived he prostrated himself. Now Baba [Nanak had] noted the custom of that country and of those [who lived there] whereby the raja would perform a despicable deed. The raja would put on
156b a garment of astrakhan and whenever anyone's daughter was married she had to go to the raja for the first night. [Only] afterwards could she live with her husband.[750] Baba Nanak said to the raja, "Abandon this practice which you are following, raja. This is the Guru's command. And ask whatever you desire. The Guru will be generous to you."

"Baba," replied the raja, "in my country there is an abundance of rice and wool, but nothing else grows."

[In response to this need] Baba Nanak bestowed upon that country a variety of food. He gave fragrant perfumes and he gave cloth. He gave a gold mine, a silver mine, a copper mine, a tin mine, a lead mine, and a zinc mine—all of these [he gave]. In the mountains he brought into being musk [deer], silk [worms], numerous [kinds of] fruit, and many other

(Contd...)
1733 would certainly use the word in its earlier, broader sense to mean Tibet. t would, however, be a mistake to construe the janam-sakhi usage in a geographical sense, for it is primarily symbolic. The remote Himalayas symbolized tantric magic and sinister erotic customs, and because this particular anecdote features a certain raja's 'despicable deed' Bhutan provides an appropriate setting. In two versions of the sakhi entitled "The Country Ruled by Women" this same conventional function is served by Kamarupa. See note 374. The actual area which supplied the narrator with his geographical details was evidently Kashmir.

[750]Although the *jus primae noctis* custom is particularly associated with the Andhras (S.C. Upadhyaya, *Kama Sutra of Vatsyayana*, Bombay 1963, pp. 196-97) the defloration theme is an aspect of a much wider Indian tradition. It is allied to notions of the magical potency of the initial sexual act, the belief being that the power released by the act can best be neutralised by those who are themselves the repositaties of power. This normally meant priests (hence the custom of ritual defloration in some parts of India) but the neutralising power might also be attributed to rajas. The defloration of virgi ed to possess a particular potency by the practitioners of tantric *Sri-Puja*. walker II.432, 571-72.

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157a things. The raja then became a Sikh, together with [his] people. Baba [Nanak] inculcated in them [the three-fold discipline of repeating] the divine Name, [giving] charity, and [regular] bathing. A dharamsala was built and [Baba Nanak] had them call him by the name of Gracious Guru (*gurūmiharvān*).

[When] the Guru was about to depart the raja and the people declared, "Blessed is this country wherein your feet have trodden!" They tried to persuade him to stay. Baba [Nanak] realised that they would not give up their intention [of keeping him in their country], and so while he was sitting in their midst imparting happiness to them he [suddenly] disappeared and reappeared in another country. They who were [left] sitting there were astounded. "O God!" they cried, "a moment ago he was sitting in our midst [but now] what has happened? He is no longer to
157b be seen! What miracle is this? He has vanished! It must be a trick. We had not beheld his presence nearly long enough! He was a great bhagat, one near to God, but we were unable to perceive how great a benefactor he was, or that he was the bestower of blessing in both this world and the next."[751]

They repented [their blindness], but Baba [Nanak] had gone. [Repeating] the divine Name, [the giving of] charity, [the practice of regular] bathing, [and loyalty to] the Truth—these four things they continued to observe.

ILLUSTRATION 37

158a The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi concerning [a miracle performed by] Baba [Nanak] ji.

[CAKES MIRACULOUSLY COOKED]

[Once] Baba [Nanak] ji visited a [certain] country. He gave Mardana some fresh uncooked rice and flour, but withheld water and fire, giving him neither of these Baba [Nanak] and Mardana then went and sat at a certain spot where, miraculously, a cauldron[752] appeared.

"Mardana," commanded Baba [Nanak], "knead cakes and uttering [the words] 'Praise to the Guru' place them in this cauldron." Mardana kneaded cakes, repeating "Praise to the Guru" as he did so, and put them in the cauldron

[751] *dīn dunīā* (n) : lit. 'religion and the world'.
[752] *kuṇḍ* : a large, deep, open pot.

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"Wrap the unused rice in a cloth and put it in too."

Mardana wrapped the unused rice in a cloth and threw it into the cauldron also. When it dropped in, in at once
158b sank [out of sight]. "My Lord," protested Mardana, we have wasted this flour, this rice, and these lentils. They have sunk [to the bottom] and not come up."

"Mardana," replied Baba [Nanak], "say 'My Lord Guru, I have consecrated one cake to Thee' and everything will reappear."

"Very well," said Mardana. "I have consecrated one cake to Thee."

As soon as he said this the cakes cooked and rose to the top [of the cauldron], and the rice emerged boiled. [The people of] that country were astounded. "By God !" [they cried].

"These faqirs have cooked cakes in water [although they had none] ! We gave them neither water nor fire and yet they have miraculously boiled their rice. This must be an Exalted One."

The people prostrated themselves and become Sikhs.
159a A dharamsala was built and everyone chanted "Guru, Guru". Baba [Nanak] taught them true belief (*dharam*) and devoutly) they chanted, "Guru, Guru".

The (sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [describing the occasion when] Baba [Nanak] ji visited Kashmir.

ILLUSTRATION 38

159b [BABA NANAK'S VISIT TO KASHMIR]

Next Baba [Nanak] ji visited Kashmir. When he reached Kashmir he observed that religious belief was strong, but only in the towns and villages. [Accordingly] he went and sat on a [deserted] mountain [where] he remained sitting for twelve days. A Kashmiri who was grazing sheep,[763] observing that two people were sitting [in that lonely spot], asked, "Who are you, sitting here in the wilderness ?"

"Whom do we look like to you ?" responded Baba [Nanak].

"You do not look honest, lurking here in the wilderness," replied [the shepherd]. "Who knows, you might be thieves or highwaymen. If you are faqirs the eople live."

[763] *dumbā* : lit. 'tail'. A variety of sheep distinguished by a fat tail.

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"Go home, Kashmiri !" said Baba [Nanak]. "What are you saying to us ! If there is mercy and true religion in
160a your heart then serve *any* faqir [whom you may happen to meet, not just those who beg from door to door]. What are you saying to us !"

"[Apart from] me, sir, only God used to come here," he replied. "No other person used to come."

"Go, brother," commanded Baba [Nanak, whereupon] he offered a salaam and departed.

When he returned [to where he had left his sheep] he discovered that the flock of sheep which he had left grazing had all died. All lay stretched out on the ground. When he saw them the Kashmiri was astounded. "O God !" [he cried]. "What has happened ? The whole flock has died ! Whatever shall I tell the master ? He will torment
160b my entire family to death.[754] Some mighty power has been [at work here]. What shall I do ?"

Then he said to himself, "Whatever has happened has taken place because of that faqir. I shall go and fall at his feet. Then all will be well for me.

Leaving the dead sheep the Kashmiri went [back] to Baba [Nanak and] when he came to him he fell at his feet. "Sir, some mighty power has been [at work]," he cried. "How can I describe it ! I am stunned."

"What has happened, brother ?" asked Baba [Nanak].

"I graze another's sheep, sir," replied [the shepherd], "and [in this way] I manage to earn a living. When I came to you the flock were all grazing contentedly. I left
161a them eating and drinking, and came [here]. When I returned just now I found that the entire flock had died. I was stunned [and said to myself], 'What shall I do ? If I return home [the owner of the sheep] will torment my whole family to death. What can I do ? I can do nothing.' "

Reading his inner thoughts Baba [Nanak] perceived that he was in great dread and deep despair. "Go, [my] Sikh," said Baba [Nanak]. "Revive them by saying 'Praise to the Guru'.

All will come to life [again]."

[The shepherd] prostrated himself and departed, declaring as he went, "Guru, [my] Lord, by thy grace this flock will return to life." And so [it did indeed happen] power of God the flock was restored to life. Having

[754] *ghāṇi piranige* : squeeze as in an oil-press.

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uttered the words [which revived them the shepherd] immediately left the flock and returning to Baba [Nanak]
161b fell at his feet. "Baba ji," he declared, "I am not returning home. I shall join you in your travels. I am not returning." Baba [Nanak] ji repeatedly said, "Go home," [but] he would not go. [Instead] he spent the night with Baba [Nanak].

Next morning the owner of the flock set out in search [of him, saying], "That fellow has not returned with the sheep. Whatever has happened ?" As he proceeded on his search what should he discover but the flock grazing untended and the shepherd sitting with a faqir. He too went and sat with the faqir. When he looked [at him he observed that] the faqir was rapt in a deep trance [and so] he too prostrated himself. When he looked [again] it was not the shepherd [whom he saw sitting with Nanak], for the shepherd's appearance had been transformed.

"Sir," he said [addressing Baba Nanak], "every day this shepherd used to return home after grazing the sheep.
162a Yesterday he did not come home and so I came to look [for him]. It is [indeed] a blessing that I have met you."

"God [dwells] in this [person], brother," said the shepherd "Do not regard him as anyone [but God]. Just now I left this flock of sheep which I tend. [I left them] peacefully grazing and drinking, and came here. Arriving here I showed disrespect by speaking as [if I were his] equal. When I turned homewards to take the flock of sheep home [I went back to where they had been grazing and] when I reached them I discovered that the entire flock lay dead. I was stunned ! Then I returned here and fell at the feet [of this holy man]. The Guru was overjoyed [to observe the change in me] and the flock of sheep rose up alive ! Truly this is God !

162b My desire is for nothing else [but to be with him]. Take your own sheep home. Do not depend on me [to do it any longer]."

"He speaks the truth !" declared [the owner of the sheep]. He [too] prostrated himself and became a Sikh. He [then] returned home [with] the flock and when he reached the village he raised a clamour, [shouting], "Brother[s], there is a faqir [out there] who is just like God !"

As soon as they heard this the people went out with great rejoicing [to where Baba Nanak [illegible] d fell at his feet. The people [of that area] [illegible] Sikhs. The raja [also] went [to Baba Nanak], fell at his feet, and became a Sikh. He began to chant "Guru, Guru" and to

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practise [the discipline of repeating] the divine Name [giving] charity, [regular] bathing, and [living in accordance with] the Truth. The shepherd converted his house into a dharamsala. The whole country turned Sikh. They began
163a meeting in sangats where they would chant "Guru, Guru."

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows: Baba [Nanak] ji visited the land of the Pathans.

ILLUSTRATION 39

163b [BABA NANAK ENSLAVED IN THE LAND OF THE PATHANS][755]

Baba [Nanak] ji left Kashmir and went to that country where men seize [travellers] and carry [them] off. He appeared in that country and having arrived [there] sat down on [a heap of] stones, now a Rohilla Pathan[756] [who was] passing noticed Baba [Nanak who, in the meantime], had been transformed into a child aged twelve years. Approaching Baba [Nanak] the Rohilla seized [him] and carried [him] off. He returned [to his home] and said to his wife, "God has delivered a boy [into our hands]! He is a Hindu, but [nevertheless] he will bring a high price."

When the Pathan women looked [at him she observed that] he was very handsome. "Let us not sell him," said the greedy woman. "We shall keep him in [our own] house."

"We shall get two horses for him!" exclaimed [her husband]. "He is not for keeping in the house."

"Just as you wish," replied the Pathan woman, concealing her feelings.

164a [And so] the Rohilla took Baba [Nanak] away to sell him. It was a thoroughly benighted[757] country. [The people] knew neither the God of the Muslims nor the God of the Hindus.[758] To bring about their salvation Baba [Nanak let himself be] sold [as a slave]. The Rohilla went and sold him, received [in exchange] two horses, and returned home. Baba [Nanak] had left Mardana in Kashmir.

[After he had been sold] Baba [Nanak] was taken to the

[755]A considerably amended version of this anecdote is included in Sewaram Singh, *The Divine Master* (Lahore, 1930), pp. ,115-19. The author does not name his source.

[756]The terms Rohilla and Pathan are used synonymously. See note 28!

[757]*nigurā*: lit. 'guru-less'; godless.

[758]Neither *Khudā* nor Parmesvar.

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house of Mughal.[759] When the Mughal's wife saw him she was delighted, [thinking] that it would be very useful to have the boy kept in [their] house. The Mughal asked [her], "What will you do with this boy, wife ?"

"He will be kept in the house," she replied.

"What work will entrust to him ?"

"He will bring water," she answered.

She then commanded Baba [Nanak] : "Bring water for the house, slave, and do other housework [also]."

164b "Very well," answered Baba [Nanak and] taking the crock he went to get water. When he reached the well he said to Khwaja [Khizr],[760] "Do not give [anyone] water unless I say so."

"Very well," replied Khwaja [Khizr], "I shall do as you say," [and at his bidding] all the water in the land dried up. Baba [Nanak] returned [to his mistress] and said, "There is no water [in that] well."

"Then go to another well," she commanded.

"Very well," answered [Baba Nanak]. Returning empty [handed] from there also [he announced], "That well has also dried up."

And so the next day came. The Mughal was still arguing with Baba [Nanak], saying, "I have bought a foolish slave. He says there is no water in the well. I filled the water-pots [last] night and left them at the well [and now] he says there is no water in the well !"

By that time it was morning and there was a commotion 165a in the land. "O God," [the people were crying, Last] night we filled the water-pots and left them [at the well]. Whatever has happened ? The water has dried up !" The people were in despair. They gathered together [wailing], "What is happening ? We shall all die together. Our blood has all dried up."

Baba [Nanak], however, remained unconcerned [and

[759]The term 'Mughal' when used in an ethnic sense strictly designates the descendants of soldiers and camp-followers who entered India with Babur or who followed from territories to the north of Afghanistan during the period of his successors. In practice this definition is of little value as an indeterminate number of agricultural tribes subsequently claimed to be Mughals in an attempt to elevate their status. *GTC* III. 130. In an even looser sense the term has been used as the title of the Ashraf (the four conventional categories of immigrant Muslims) to cover all groups of Turkish descent. See note 285. The janam-sakhi narrator's description of the Mughal's dc ıat he had in mind some vague idea of the trans-Afghanistan home of the Mughals.

[760]*Khājā (khwājā) :*

Khwaja Khizr, the tutelary divinity of rivers and wells. *Enc Isl.* II.864.

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noticing this the people] said to the Mughal, Your slave is not troubled, Mirji. He is happy! Where did you buy him ?"

"I bought him [only] yesterday," replied [the Mughal], "but he knows his job. [Moreover] he neither eats nor sleeps."

"He must be a great Exalted One!" they cried. "He neither eats, drinks, nor sleeps, and he works hard. He knows much about [his] work and [in spite of this calamity] he is still untroubled. He is an Exalted One!"

165b They all came together to Baba [Nanak and besought him saying], "Sir, you are an Exalted One. We are all dying. Have mercy [upon us]."

Baba [Nanak] answered them, "Become Sikhs and the Supreme Guru will give you water."

"Certainly we shall become Sikhs," they replied, "but please give us water."

And so Baba [Nanak] gave it to them and they were overjoyed that their life giving water had been restored. All became Sikhs and began to chant "Guru, Guru." Guru Baba [Nanak] instilled in them [the three-fold discipline of repeating] the divine Name, [giving] charity, and [regular] bathing. A dharamsala was built.

Then [the people] said, "Sir, [holy men] such as you are close to God. We cannot tell you to go, [nor can we compel you to remain]. Stay according to your own pleasure and not because of our constraining."

166a [To the Mughal] Baba [Nanak] replied, "Mirji, I shall go when you have received a price corresponding to whatever benefit you would have received from my [services]."

"Sir!" he exclaimed, "our lives, our village, our household goods—absolutely everything is yours alone. Why do you say such things!"

"Go yonder and dig up a sod of earth," commanded Baba [Nanak].

They went and dug up a sod of earth and when they looked [they saw that the space] underneath was filled with treasure. Baba [Nanak] gave them the treasure and said to them, "If any Sikh of mine comes this way do not seize him. [Instead] attend to his needs."

Having made them Sikhs Baba [Nanak] re
sat at the spot [where previously he had been captured]. When the Rohilla passed by again he observed that [the same child] was once again sitting [on the heap of stones].

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Seizing him the Rohilla carried him off again. When his wife[761] saw that it was the same [prisoner as before] she
166b was overjoyed [because she thought], "This time I shall be able to keep him in the house." The Rohilla observed, [however] that she was entertaining improper intentions [and so] next day he took him [away] to sell him. Having sold him he brought back two horses

A Mughal, [having purchased] Baba [Nanak], took him to his house and gave him housework to do, Baba [Nanak] did the work [but] when next day dawned he caused fire, water, and grain to disappear from the land. There was no fire, no water, no grain [anywhere and] the people were bewildered. "O God, what has happened ?" [they cried]. "We filled all [the vessels with water last night], left them, and went to sleep. Whatever has happened ? Everything has disappeared. Thou hast decided to kill us all with a single blow."

"What should be done ?" everyone asked. The good and virtuous began to despair. "Let us throw ourselves
167a upon the mercy of a holy man," they said and they racked their brains—but to no effect.

Then Baba [Nanak] said to his Mughal [master], "If you become my Sikh you will receive everything."

Calling the other people the Mughal said [to them], "I purchased this slave yesterday and [now] he says, "If you become my Sikh you will receive everything."

"It is better to do what the slave says than to die," they replied.

All came and prostrated themselves before Baba [Nanak]. Baba [Nanak] made them Sikhs and in all of them he instilled [the discipline of repeating] the divine Name, [giving] charity, and [regular] bathing. And he told them, "If anyone becomes my Sikh do not approach him [with the intention of making him a slave, but [instead] attend to his needs." All began to repeat "Guru, Guru." In
167b every house a dharamsala was established.[762]

Then Baba [Nanak] said to them, "Lift this stone up from here." They lifted the stone and underneath [it] there was treasure. "Take it," said Baba [Nanak], "I shall go [on my way]."

[761] Although the text gives *rohilā*, i.e. the husband, the context indicates that it should read *rohilī*, the wife.

[762] The intention is evidently to suggest that in every house a room or a portion of a room was set aside for devotional practices (*nām simaran* and *Kirtan*). Cf. *B40* folio 173a and *BG* 1:27. See *ESC*, p. 31.

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"Blessed is our destiny that your feet should have trodden here!" they cried, "and that we should have beheld your presence! Stay here and bestow [further] blessing [upon us]."

"I am always with you," replied Baba [Nanak]. "Repeat 'Guru, Guru' [and I shall be present with you]."

Baba [Nanak] then returned to that same spot and sat [once again on the stones]. When the Rohilla came that way and saw him sitting [there] again he kidnapped him and carried him off [a third time]. The Rohilla brought him to his house and next day took him away to sell him. Having obtained two horses [as payment] he returned home. A Mughal had bought him.

168a "Slave," said the Mughal, "you must graze my sheep."

"Sir," replied Baba [Nanak], "I am miserably ill-fated. I have been turned out of my house. [The sheep] on which my stick falls will die."

"Whatever are you saying now?" exclaimed the Mughal.

"If you wish I shall put [my claim] to the test," answered Baba [Nanak].

"Strike these sheep with [your] stick and let us see," said the Mughal.

Baba [Nanak] struck the sheep with [his] stick and they all died.

"Restore them to life!"[763] cried the [alarmed] Mughal. "I shall give you other work."

"These sheep will return to life," promised Baba [Nanak]. "At [my] command they will live [again]."

"You had better work in the garden," said the Mughal.

"When I enter the garden it will wither," replied Baba [Nanak]. "If you wish I shall put [this claim] to the test [also]."

168b The Mughal took Baba [Nanak] to the garden [and when he entered it] the whole garden withered. The Mughal then took him home and said, "Sit down and grind wheat."

"I shall grind [it]," answered Baba [Nanak], "but no matter how much I eat I am never satisfied. My food consumption is a hundred maunds [of wheat] at a sitting."

"There are a hundred maunds of wheat in this store-house," said the Mughal. "Sit down and grind [

[763] The Mughal's response begins with the ejaculation "*Re*!" which in this context could be translated as "My goodness!" or "Upon my words!" It is omitted as the Mughal begins all his remaining sentences with the same ejaculation.

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"I shall grind [it]," replied Baba [Nanak], "but how will you collect the flour ?"

"Do the grinding in my presence." commanded [the Mughal]. "Where can the grain go ? [I shall watch you and collect the flour from you as you grind it.]"

"Very well," said Baba [Nanak] and he began to grind the wheat. [Servants] brought more wheat and he continued to turn his grinder, but no wheat emerged. All the wheat was ground in a watch and a quarter[764], yet no particle[765] of flour had come out [of the grinder].

169a When the Mughal's wife came out she saw that there was no flour and that the grain-store was completely empty. She raised [loud] lamentation, [crying], "O God, why have you brought this calamity [upon us] ? Let him be cast out of [our] home by morning. He has cut the root of our [prosperity]."

All fell at his feet, [each] beseaching him "Sir, I am sinful. Forgive [me]."

"Take from him[766] double whatever money you paid," said Baba [Nanak to the Mughal]. "Then I shall depart." Baba [Nanak] then took from [his] hat[767] a ruby and gave it to the Mughal, saying, "If the price which you obtain [for this] is insufficient then come back to me."

[The Mughal] took the ruby and went to the bazaar. When he brought out the ruby and gave it to a money-lender

169b the money-lender said, "I do not have [enough] money to give you for this [ruby] but take however much money you need and keep the jewel."

Taking the jewel [back the Mughal] returned to Baba [Nanak]. When he arrived he stood with palms joined and said, "Sir, take your jewel back and [so] bestow happiness upon us."

"Go [your way]," said Baba [Nanak]. "You were heading for hell, but the Guru has shown mercy towards you."

Then they all became Sikhs and the Guru taught them [the three-fold discipline of repeating] the divine Name, [giving] charity, and [regular] bathing. He made them all disciples and then left that place.

[764]Three hours and forty-five minutes.

[765]*sarasāhī*. See note 529.

[766]The reference is presumably to the Rohilla although the [illegible]rence to any such refund being received from him. It is not [illegible] Mughal should receive the ruby when his task is to extract money from the Rohilla.

[767]*topī*, probably a reference to the kind of hat worn by qalandars or by some orders of faqirs.

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[Once again] he returned to the same spot and once again the Rohilla, while passing by, saw him sitting there. He seized Baba [Nanak again] and carried him off [a fourth time]. Reaching home he slept and next day set out to
170a sell [him. Before he had gone, however,] his wife said, "You have already sold him several times. If on one occasion anyone manages to escape it is only with the greatest effort that he saves his life. [But] this [person] manages it a hundred times! This is an Exalted One. Let us fall at his feet and have our sins forgiven. Let us become [his] disciples."

The Rohilla went immediately and fell at his feet. Guru Baba [Nanak] smiled [and said], "Abandon these [evil] practices and you shall find peace." The Rohilla fell at his feet and became a Sikh. Baba [Nanak] bestowed happiness upon them and they began to worship their Master. The Guru instilled in them [repeating of] the divine Name, [the giving of] charity, [regular] bathing, [adherence to] truth and mercy, [and the proper observance
170b of] *dharma*. A dharamsala was erected and the Guru commanded, "If any Sikh of mine comes here attend to his needs." Guru Baba [Nanak] then departed.

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows: Baba [Nanak] ji visited the land of a certain raja.[708]

171a

ILLUSTRATION 40

171b

[BABA NANAK PROVIDES GRAIN AND FIRE]

Baba [Nanak] left that place and went to a country where there was neither fire nor grain. [The people who lived] there ate meat and worshipped the sun. They laid [two stones together], one stone below and the other above. In between they placed meat. [Then] they worshipped the sun and the meat cooked [by the heat of the sun's rays]. This food they gave to ascetics to eat. If any ascetic came they attended generously to his needs. They would give him meat to eat and they themselves ate meat, [for] grain did not grow [there].

Baba [Nanak] appeared in that country. Outside [the town] a shepherd was grazing his sheep. [Seeing Baba Nanak] he approached him and as soon as he

[708]The sakhi which follows makes no reference to a raja. At its conclusion the compiler makes the same erroneous statement concerning its successor (folio 173b).

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him he fell at his feet. "Sir," he said, "[It seems that if] I kill[769] a sheep you will not eat [its mutton]. The owner
172a of the sheep will demand [an explanation from me]. He will say, 'Why did you let the ascetic go away hungry ?' It is the custom of this country that [any] ascetic who appears [here] is given food. And, sir, grain does not grow here and there is no fire. [That is why we can offer only sun-cooked meat]."

"Very well," said Baba [Nanak], "kill the sheep."

[The shepherd] slaughtered a sheep and laying [two stones together], one stone below and other above, he placed the flesh between them. Then he chanted [the name of] the sun and in a watch and a quarter[770] [the meat] was cooked. He then said to Baba [Nanak]. "Eat, sir."

Baba [Nanak] kept the skin and bones [aside] and ate the meat. Then he said to shepherd, "Bring the skin and bones to me." The shepherd brought them [and Baba
172b Nanak], placing the bones in the skin, said [to the sheep], "Go and graze, sheep." The sheep arose and began to graze. The shepherd was astounded.

Then Baba [Nanak] said to him, "Go. In the city there must be some important man. Summon him and bring [him here]. The Guru will give grain and fire."

Hearing this [the shepherd] at once hastened to the city, and to an important man [who lived] in the city he cried, "An ascetic summons you ! [He says that] the Guru will give grain and fire."

As soon as he heard this [the man] hastened [out to where Baba Nanak was waiting]. When he arrived he saw a faqir sitting [there], but [it was no ordinary faqir. This was] a mighty Exalted One. Approaching [him] he prostrated himself.

"Bring some grain," said Baba [Nanak].

"Sir, there is no grain in this city," replied [the man],
173a "but, sir, there is about a seer[771] of grain in my house. If you so command I shall bring it.

[769] *kuhaṇā* : to slaughter according to Muslim rites (*ḥalāl*). The shepherd had presumably recognised Baba Nanak as a non-Muslim and had therefore assumed that he would not accept *ḥalāl* meat.

[770] Three hours and forty five minutes.

[771] *ser*, or seer : the common unit of weight, normally computed today as the equivalent of slightly less than a kilogram. For the varying sizes of the unit during the Mughal period see *Ā'īn* I. 16n and III, 123; also *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* (London, 1923), pp. 334-35, and idem, [illegible] *Death of Akbar* (London, 1920), pp. 52-53. The maund (*man*) comprised forty seers. (See note 745). As a measure of liquid capacity the seer is equivalent to one litre.

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He brought the grain and Baba [Nanak] said, "Sow it". He sowed it and as soon as it was sown the grain sprouted. Within six hours[772] it had ripened, and within [another] three hours[773] he had threshed it. Before nightfall he had gathered it all into his house.

Baba [Nanak] then said, "Son, this grain is not for selling. It is to be given to everyone for eating. This grain will be an inexhaustible store."

"Very well, sir," he replied.

[And so] Baba [Nanak] gave them grain and fire. The entire population of that land became Sikhs. They took up repeating, "Guru, Guru" and in every house a dharamsala was established. Guru Baba [Nanak] taught them [three-fold discipline of repeating] the divine Name, [giving] charity, and [regular] bathing. Everyone in that land declared, "Blessed is our destiny that [we have beheld]
173b your presence and that your feet have trodden in this land."

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows: Baba [Nanak] ji visited the land of a [certain] raja.

ILLUSTRATION 41

174a [FLOODS BANISHED FROM A LAND BESIDE THE SEA]

Baba [Nanak] departed from that place and proceeding to a land beside the sea he rested [there. The people of that area] served him with great reverence. After six months had passed they said to Baba [Nanak], "Come away with us. Return when we return. A [mighty] wave of the sea will sweep over here and all our houses will be carried away. Then we shall return to build our houses [again]. And after six months they will be swept away again."

"What is this ?" asked Baba [Nanak]. "You construct your houses [for only] six months and then the ocean demolishes them ? Go," he continued, "the ocean will not destroy them—but [first] become Sikhs."

"We shall be [your Sikhs], sir," they promised.

"Go," said Baba [Nanak], "and if when you return your
174b houses are still as you left them, then become Sikhs."

[The people] departed and Baba [Nanak] remained sitting there. When that time—the day [of the wave]—they came [back], and when they returned they discovered

[772]Two watches.
[773]One watch.

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that their houses were still intact. They immediately fell at Baba [Nanak's] feet and all became Sikhs. They began to chant "Guru, Guru" and in every house a dharamsala was established. [Baba Nanak] imparted [the three-fold discipline of repeating] the divine Name, [giving] charity, and [regular] bathing. Baba [Nanak] then departed.

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows.

ILLUSTRATION 42

175a [A DEMON ARSONIST CONVERTED]

Baba [Nanak] proceeded to [another] country. There, [in that country], a demon used to set fire [to the houses of the people] every month [and the people then] had to rebuild them. Baba [Nanak] appeared [in that country]. When he arrived there he sat down and remained seated there for a whole month. The people came and sat with him. "Sir," they said, "every month fire suddenly breaks out here."

"Fire will not break out [again]," answered Baba [Nanak]. "The Guru has banished it. But [first] you should become Sikhs." And they responded, "Very well, sir."

When it came to the day of the fire the people came to Baba [Nanak and said], "Sir, fire will break out in the town today. What should we do ? [Previously] we used to abandon [the town]."

"If you are willing," replied Baba [Nanak], "then leave
175b what you are doing and come and sit with me. Bring your possessions with you."

Some of them did not take any of their possessions [with them, but all] came and sat with him. At the [usual] hour the demon appeared. As high as the heavens he came. Baba [Nanak], observing that the demon had arrived and [that] the people were terrified turned his gaze towards the demon. At his gaze the demon flew away like a feather blown in a gale. Soaring [up] he whirled round and round, [and finally] dropped senseless before Baba [Nanak]. Baba [Nanak] had mercy on the demon. He touched the demon's forehead with his foot and the demon regained consciousness. It then sat up, and going to Baba [Nanak] it fell at his feet.

176a "Sir," [it said], "let me be forgiven ıstrous sinner that I should have come to perform this deed in your presence."

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"Go," replied Baba [Nanak]. "You are forgiven. Bring water on your head for the dharamsala which is at this place and you will find salvation."

"Sir, it shall be done," cried the demon. "Tell me what else should be done."

"Whatever you do will help you [to salvation], answered Baba [Nanak].

Then all [the people of] the city and [its surrounding] country became Sikhs. They began to chant "Guru, Guru" a dharamsala was built, and Guru [Nanak] taught them [the three-fold discipline of repeating] the divine Name, [giving] charity, and [regular] bathing. The Guru then prepared to leave that place.

"Sir," said [the people], "live here. Blessed is our destiny that we have beheld your presence; and blessed this land where your feet have trodden."

176b "I am [always] with you," replied Baba [Nanak]. "Do not relinquish [the three-fold discipline of] 'Name, charity, and bathing' and minister to ascetics [who pass this way]." Baba [Nanak] then left that place.

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows. Baba [Nanak] visited the ocean: a sakhi [relating a discourse held] with Ajitta [Randhava].

ILLUSTRATION 43

177a [AJITTA RANDHAVA REBUKED FOR GREED]

When Baba [Nanak] visited the ocean-shore and tarried [there] Ajitta[774] Randhava was with him. Ajitta was grieved at heart, [reflecting], "I have accompanied this faqir in this way [and now because I have been away from home for so long] I have to pay the money-lender one hundred rupees. That mony-lender will have enslaved my whole family."

Baba [Nanak], reading his thoughts, [perceived that] he was worried about his financial position and that he was dejected. And so he asked him, "Ajitta, are you worrying about your finances ? Are you upset ?"

"Yes," answered Ajitta.

"Remove this clod of earth," said Baba [Nanak], and take out as many rupees as you have to repay [the money-lender]."

[774]The original text has *jittā randhavā* throughout this sakhi and its successor. An initial *a* has been added by a later hand, except on folio 180a where the amendment has been overlooked. See note 542.

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Ajitta lifted the clod of earth and there [beneath it] was a large [hoard of] treasure. Greedily Ajitta seized many rupees and having taken them returned to Baba [Nanak].

177b "Did you take the rupees, Ajitta ?" asked Baba [Nanak].

"I have taken them," answered [Ajitta].

"Count them and wrap them," said Baba [Nanak].

"Very well," replied Ajitta, [but] when he counted them [he discovered that] instead [of what he had expected the total] was two rupees short [of what he needed]. Ajitta was dumbfounded. "Brother !" [he exclaimed], "I took plenty [of rupees], but the number which I took is [still] two rupees short !"

"Count [them] again, Ajitta," commanded Baba [Nanak].

He started counting [but then stopped and said], "Sir, I was greedy and [now, because of my greed,] the original amount is two rupees short."

"Go yonder," said Baba [Nanak]. "The two rupees will be at that place."

When Ajitta went [as directed] he saw that the two rupees were lying [there]. Taking the rupees he returned to Baba [Nanak].

[ABDUL RAHMAN HUMBLED]

"Ajitta," said Baba [Nanak], "a faqir [called] Abdul Rahman[776] lives in Nebada village in the *pargana* of

178a Kalanaur.[776] He is asking for our *ghī*. Let us go. We shall give him *ghī* and return."

"Very well," replied [Ajitta].

Baba [Nanak] then set out to give *ghī* to Abdul Rahman. "Shut your eyes, Ajitta," he said. Ajitta shut his eyes [and, miraculously transported,] they came to Dallai da Chak. "Open your eyes and look, Ajitta," said Baba [Nanak]. When Ajitta opened his eyes and looked [he saw that] they had arrived at Dallai da Chak. Baba [Nanak] went and sat two [*kos*] from Abdul Rahman's [hut]. To Ajitta he said, "Ajitta, go to the Mian.[777] When you reach [him] convey my greetings and invite [him to come here]. Go and say, 'The Baba invites you'. "

Ajitta went to Abdul Rahman and said, "Sir, the Baba sends his greetings and invites you [to visit him]."

178b Hearing this Abdul Rahman went immediately. When

[775]See note 145.

[776]Gurdaspur District. See Introduction p. 22.

[777]See note 647.

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he arrived he greeted Baba [Nanak] with a salaam and sat down.

"Are you well, Mianji ?" asked Baba [Nanak, and he] replied, "I am well."

Baba [Nanak] then said, "Mian, why did you say : 'Take the *pau*[778] of *ghi* which the wife of the shopkeeper has collected ?' [Mian] ji, as a slice of lemon is squeezed on a meat curry and the husk is thrown away....."

[He got no further], for as soon as these words were out of Baba [Nanak's] mouth Mian [Abdul Rahman] was rendered powerless. Mian [Abdul Rahman] was struck dumb. He had come to overpower [Baba Nanak with miracles], but instead he was himself overpowered.

Now there was another pir like Mian [Abdul Rahman]. Mian [Abdul Rahman] summoned [this other pir because he knew that] he would say : "Your miracle did not have
179a any effect on the Hindu." He also came—and very arrogantly. As soon as he arrived he sat down [without observing the customary forms of politeness]. Baba [Nanak] looked at him [steadily] and under [such] a gaze he too became powerless.

"Mian," he cried [to Abdul Rahman], "I am helpless !"

"We have encountered a mighty snake," replied Mian [Abdul Rahman]. "If God will protect us all we will be well.

Who has the power to work miracles ? [Certainly we do not !]"

Baba [Nanak] observed that he had become very depressed. "Mian," he said, "what difference does it make whether or not [the water of] a small pool is added to the ocean ? One should not be so proud. Everything returns to the one who possesses it."

When Baba [Nanak] said this they had to pay the price [of shame] for their [attempts to work] a miracle. Both
179b fell at Baba [Nanak's] feet and then arose. Joining his hands [in supplication] Mian [Abdul Rahman] asked [Baba Nanak], "Sir, do me the honour of visiting my hut." Baba [Nanak] replied, "Very well," [and they proceeded on their way].

[After they had covered a certain distance] Baba [Nanak] looked at the ground. All the fragments of pottery and pebbles that were [there] had become gold coins. "We have come the wrong way. The road lies to t
said Baba [Nanak]. "Very well," answered [Abdul

[778]A quarter part of a *ser*. See note 771.

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Rahman]. "Then let us go to the right." There they encountered disused [land covered with] enormous clods of earth. These all turned into gold.

When they reached the hut Mian [Abdul Rahman] treated him very hospitably.

"What [religious] dicipline do you observe, Mian ?" enquired Baba [Nanak].

"Sir," he replied, "I live in [this] hut for six months [without emerging]. I enter this hut taking [with me] a
180a ewer[779] of water and a seer of barley."

"Ajitta," declared Baba [Nanak], "from today I shall take only one ak pod[779a] in a year [and nothing else]." Previously Baba [Nanak] used to take a handful of sand once a year. That was his food.

"Very well," replied Ajitta.

[Hearing what Baba Nanak had said] Mian [Abdul Rahman] stood up with palms joined. "Sir, forgive me. I am a heedless [fellow]. Blessed is my destiny that I have beheld your presence. For this reason [I have been blessed]."

"The Guru has forgiven you, Mian," replied Baba [Nanak].

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [which relates how] Baba [Nanak] ji visited Achal.

180b

ILLUSTRATION 44

181a

[AJITTA RANDHAVA REBUKED FOR REVIVIFYING DEAD BIRDS AT ACHAL]

Baba [Nanak] proceeded to Achal.[780] When he arrived there he sat down and all the people who were there came for the Guru's blessing.[781] [Observing this] the Siddhs said, "This must be an Exalted One ! The people have all come for his blessing." [Jealous of the attention he was attracting] they began to perform miracles. One soared in the sky, another made a deerskin fly, and another walked on water with wooden sandals. Some did one thing and some another.[782]

[779] *asatāvā*, correctly *āftāba* or *āb-tāba* : a variety of water-pot with spout, used by Muslims for personal ablutions.

[779a] See folios 76a, 103b.

[780] See note 579.

[781] *darśan* : lit. 'audience'; the blessing imparted as a resu... with a person of exalted spiritual stature.

[782] Cf. folio 121a.

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Then Ajitta Randava spread a sheet beside the pond[783] and sat cross-legged on it. At that time many birds had died as a result of rain, hail, and a storm.[784] Swept along by the [flood-] water they had floated into the pond and were lying there [in the water]. These birds were washed up to Ajitta by the ripples [in the pond]. And what
181b did Ajitta do ? Taking them in his hands he said, "Praise to the Guru," and blew upon them. The dead birds rose up alive and leaving [his] hands flew away.

[By the time] Baba [Nanak] observed [what was happening] several thousand birds had been revivified. "Who is that person on the white sheet, the one who is restoring birds to life and setting them free ?" asked Baba [Nanak]. "Who is he ?"

"It is your disciple, Ajitta Randhava," the people replied.

"When did I tell that hunter to revive birds ?" said Guru Baba [Nanak]. "Call him [here]."

They summoned [him, saying], "Ajitta, Baba [Nanak] is calling you." Hearing this he at once went and prostrated himself [before his Master]. Baba [Nanak] deprived him of his power and left him impotent [to perform miracles]. The hatha-yoga adepts, the Sufi masters,
182a divinities both heavenly and earth-bound,[785] all came and fell at his feet.

[A VISIT TO TILLA]

Baba [Nanak] then visited Tilla.[786] Baba [Nanak] proceeded to Tilla [and when] he arrived there he went and

[783] *ḍhāb* (*deh āb*) : the unpaved pond outside a village. The reference in this context may possibly be to a temple tank.

[784] Cf *AS*, p. 86 (sakhi 27), and *Mih JS* I 269 (*goṣṭ* 83).

[785] *khechar bhūchar.*

[786] Tilla (*ṭillā*, lit. 'mound',) "the most famous establishment of the Kanphatas in the Panjab, and in fact in all India." G. W. Briggs, *Gorakhnāth and the Kānphaṭā Yogīs* (Calcutta, 1938), p. 101. The village, for long the premier Nath centre of the Punjab, is located about twenty miles west of Jhelum on a remote and rugged crest of the Salt Range. It is variously referred to as Gorakh Tilla, Tilla Gorakhnath, Tilla Balgundai, Tilla Balnath, Jogi Tilla, Jogian da Tilla, Tilla Danga, or simply Tilla. Monserrate, who visited the village in 1581, provides an account of the experience in his *Commentary*. Loc. cit., trans. J.S. Hoyland and ed. S.N. Banerjee (London, 1922), pp. 110-16. Waris Shah, the celebrated Sufi poet of the Punjab, gives an eighteenth-century description in his *Hīr Rāṇjhā*. C.F. Usborne, trans., *The Adventures of Hir and Ranjha* (ed. Mumtaz Hasan, Karachi, 1966), pp. 115-22. Sujan Rai Bhandari notes it only in passing. Muhammad Akbar, *The Punjab under the Mughals* (Lahore, 1948), p
janam-sakhi references see *Bālā JS*, p. 308; *Mih JS*, I. 469: *GNSR*, pp. 62, 135;
(Contd. to next page)

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sat on the [village] platform.[787] All who were present at the Tilla fair came to Baba [Nanak]. Hindu and Muslim, [they] all came and kept repeating "Guru, Guru."

Then all the Siddhs came [saying], "This must be a great bhagat. Ask him [to perform] a miracle." They came and sat with Baba [Nanak]. "Show us a miracle," they said.

"It is up to you to work [a miracle]." replied Baba [Nanak] "You show [one to me]."

"First observe our miracle," said the Siddhs. "Then afterwards show [us yours]."

"Very well," agreed [Baba Nanak].

The Siddhs then set about performing a miracle, [but] they could do nothing for Baba [Nanak had] deprived them
182b of their [power to work] miracles. [Finally] they sat down defeated.

Baba [Nanak] then said, "Order a large quantity of wood and timber." [He] set light to it and when the fire was burning fiercely Baba [Nanak] said to one [of his] Sikhs, "Utter 'Praise to the Guru' and sit in [it]."

This Sikh was the son of a Tarkhan.[788] His name was Sangatia and he was the only son of his parents. They had no other child living and it was to ensure that he would remain alive that they made him join the sangat. He had made his submission to the Guru that very day. Seeing this [some] Siddhs had [also] fallen at [Baba Nanak's] feet. When Baba [Nanak] gave the command he leapt into [the fire] and sat down [in it]. All the people present were struck with wonder. For three hours and forty-five minutes[789] he remained in the fire until eventually Baba [Nanak] said,

(Contd...)

and *NPr* II 38 (30-59). See also : G.W. Briggs, op. cit., pp. 101-3. H. Beveridge, trans., *Akbarnamā* III. 513-14. *Ā'īn* II. 315. *ASI* II. 177-78. *Gazetteer of the Jhelum District* (*Punjab District Gazetteers*, Vol. XXVII A, Lahore, 1904), pp. 34-35. GTC I.289. J.C. Oman, *The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India* (London, 1903), pp. 264-68. B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar* (Simla, 1967), pp. 5-6. The note in the *Gazetteer of the Jhelum District* concludes : "The conspicuous shrine on the rocky pinnacle to the west (the summit of the hill) commemorates a visit paid to Tilla by the Sikh Guru, Nanak." (Loc. cit., p. 35.) This monument was presumably erected during the reign of Ranjit Singh.

[787] *chautarā* : a square terrace, commonly installed in public places for lectures and discourses.

[788] The carpenter caste. Tarkhans whose forbears became Sikhs now form the largest component of the composite Ramgarhia caste group. Sc[illegible] 8. Santokh Singh, although following *B40* or a source close to [illegible]hal setting for the story of Sangatia the Tarkhan's son. *NPr* II. 40.

[789] A watch and a quarter.

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183a "Come out, son." He emerged [from the fire and] when they examined him [they found that] not a single hair had been scorched. He came and fell at Baba [Nanak's] feet.

"For you [the transmigratory round of] birth and death has been broken," said the Guru. "Ask whatever more you desire."

With palms joined Sangatia made [this] request : "If it please you, Lord, [this is my request. The Siddhs are standing [there] very dejected. Let them receive the [true] *siddhi*."[790]

The Guru smiled. "So be it, son. I was not intending to impart *siddhi* to them, but for your sake I have bestowed it upon them.

All the Siddhs prostrated themselves before the Guru. Guru Baba [Nanak] then left that place and proceeded to where the sun rises. The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows : Baba [Nanak] ji visited a certain country.

183b **ILLUSTRATION 45**

184a [UTTAM BHANDARI AND SULTANA GUJAR : SPRINGS FROM A MOUNTAIN-SIDE]

With the Guru [at this time] were Uttam Bhandari[791] and Sultana Gujar,[792] both of them twelve years of age. To

[790] *Siddhi* : fulfilment, perfection, the ineffable experience consummating the hatha-yoga technique. Here it indicates 'enlightenment'.

[791] Bhandari : a Khatri *got* which enjoys a particular prominence in the city and district of Batala. In Amritsar District the name is also used to designate a small Jat *got* (*MK*, p. 694), although as its mercantile connotation implies it normally denotes a Khatri (*bhandārī* means, literally, 'store-keeper' or 'warehouse overseer') Family tradition attributes the founding of the Bhandari fortunes to Rai Bhag Mal, an adventurer from Multan who travelled to Ghazni in 1256 and there acquired considerable wealth The actual name of the *got* is traced to a legendary encounter between Rai Bhag Mal and Sheikh Farid al-Din Masud Ganj-i-Shakar. Lepel H. Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs* (Lahore, 1865), pp. 268-69. J.S. Grewal, *In the By-lanes of History* (Simla, 1975), pp. 25-32.

[792] Gujar : "the eighth largest caste of the [undivided] Panjab". D. Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes* (Lahore, 1916). p. 182. The Gujars represent one of the later ethnic incursions into the Punjab and until the Partition of India in 1947 the community was spread throughout the undivided province and eastwards into Saharanpur District. Almost all are Muslims and a substantial majority accordingly migrated to Pakistan in 1947. They are a pastoral people, particularly in the hill areas. On the plains they may be agriculturalists, but even there they have shown a distinct preference for cattle-herding. Ibbetson. op. cit.. pp. 182-83. Nothing appears to be known concerning Uttam the F Sultana the Gujar. It is, however, possible that the choice of a Hindu and a Muslim as companions should be understood as another example of the janam-sakhi concept of Guru Nanak's eirenical mission. See *ESC*, pp. 28-29.

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each to them Baba [Nanak] used to give exactly one seer of food. Baba [Nanak's] dress consisted of a loose brown shirt of thick cloth[793] with a length of cloth[794] [over his shoulder]. On his head he wore a hat [and around his torso] two dhotis[795] and two bathing-cloths.[796] Over [his] hat [were wound] two sashes[797] and on [his] feet [he wore] shoes.[798] Whenever they wanted anything—[for example] this thing to eat [or that thing]—Baba [Nanak] perceived what they had in mind and would say, "Go yonder, son, and eat." [And so] they would eat [what he had provided]. Even if they asked for something small and insignificant Baba [Nanak] would give it to them.

[Once] when they climbed a mountain together and had reached a height of twelve *kos* Baba [Nanak] asked [one of the boys], "Is there some water in the container, son?" When [the boy] looked [he saw that] there was [only] about a seer of water. "There is a seer of water,
184b sir," [he replied], "but we [cannot] give it to you, [for if we do] what would we drink?"

"Is there no water anywhere?" asked [Baba Nanak, and he] replied, "Nowhere."

Baba [Nanak] said nothing. Half way through the night there came the time for Baba [Nanak] to bathe. "[Bring] water, son," said Baba [Nanak]. "I must bathe."

When [the boy went and] looked he found that the pool was full [of water]. "Sir," he said, "the pool is full, but we cannot give you water [because] if we give it to you there will be nothing for us to drink."

"Say 'Praise to the Guru' and lift the stone where the water issues out," Baba [Nanak] commanded him.

[793] *gilti* (*galta*) syn. *choga*: a loose shirt made from thick cloth.

[794] *chādar* (*chaddar*): sheet; a piece of cloth which serves as a garment by day and as a covering at night. It can be worn over the shoulders or around the loins and legs, and can also be used for carrying one's belongings. A faqir might use the same cloth for any of these or other purposes. The 'sheet' which Ajitta Randhava spread beside the Achal pond was a *Chādar* (f. 181a). See also f. 222b. The word has passed into English usage as 'chuddar', a shawl or head-covering.

[795] The common article of male apparel consisting of a cloth worn around the waist, passed between the legs, and tucked in at the rear.

[796] *angochhā*: a cloth which is used as a brief garment while bathing and after bathing as a towel. When donned as a garment it is passed through the legs and wrapped in such a way as to conceal the genitals. The significance of listing four such garments (two *dhotīs* and two *angochhās*) where one would normally suffice may possibly be to suggest celibacy. The *langot* nt to the *angochhā* is used to express this idea. See note 474.

[797] The narrator evidently means that he was wearing a *kullā*, a small hat with a single length of cloth wound round it.

[798] *jutī*: the shoe commonly called a 'Punjabi slipper'.

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"Sir, we are not strong enough to lift a boulder weighing a thousand maunds!" he replied. "You have the strength and you alone can move it.

With a small stick Baba [Nanak] cast it [aside]. Five springs issued forth out of two small maunds, higher
185a than [the height of] men. Vast quantities of water were released and flowed down to the village [below]. The people [who lived there] were astounded. "No water ever issued from this spot before," they said. "From where has this water come?"

The raja [of that land] send his vazir, [telling him], "Go and find out from where this water has come." The vazir departed and climbing the mountain he observed an Exalted One sitting [there]. With him were two boys. Prostrating himself he returned [to his master]. When he arrived back he said to the raja, "An Exalted One is seated [up there] and sitting with [him] are two boys."

When he heard this the raja arose and went [to meet the Guru]. Taking food, clothing, and money he went to Baba [Nanak] and prostrating himself he said, "Pray accept these things."

185b "Raja," replied the Guru, "distribute the food and take the other things home."

"Very well," answered the raja and distributed the food. Then with palms joined [he said], "Let us go to the town, sir. Blessed is our destiny that we have beheld your presence. Blessed is this land wherein your feet have trodden."

"Why should I visit [your] town?" asked Baba [Nanak].

"So that the yearning [of the people who live in this] town may be satisfied," replied the raja.

Perceiving the deep devotion of the raja Baba [Nanak] said, "I shall come."

[And so] in one day the raja became a Sikh, together with his people. All began to chant "Guru, Guru." The Guru commanded, "Prepare a dharamsala," and the raja obeyed Baba [Nanak then] left [his] Sikhs and in the space of a watch and a quarter[799] journeyed through the places where the sun rises.

[In the meantime] the raja came to issue an invitation to
186a Baba [Nanak]. When he looked [for him] there was nothing to be seen [and such was his shock th
collapsed, his teeth firmly clenched. "The raja has all

[799] Three hours and forty-five minutes.

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right a moment ago," cried the people. "Whatever has happened ?" They cast water [on his face] and he recovered.

Baba [Nanak, meanwhile] had returned and sat in the dharamsala. The people ran to the raja. "The Guru [has returned !" they cried]. "He is sitting in the dharamsala and he has summoned you."

As soon as he heard this the raja arose and set off. When he arrived he prostrated himself in humble adoration, "Take my family, my kingdom, my wealth," he said. "[Take] everything [I possess] and stay here."

"I am always with you, Raja," replied Baba [Nanak].

The Guru taught them [the three-fold discipline of repeating] the divine Name, [giving] charity, and [regular] bathing. For one night Baba [Nanak] stayed in the town. He imparted [the message of] peace to the raja in the
186b dharamsala and [then] departed. The people chanted "Guru, Guru" and sang the compositions [of Baba Nanak].

The Guru returned to the mountain[800] and stayed [there] for twelve days. "Sons" he said [to the boys], If you give me water I shall remain here for several days. This place is pleasantly secluded." [Later he said], "But now let us go to Hivanchal,"[801] [and the boys] answered, "Very well." The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows.

ILLUSTRATION 46

187a [A VISIT TO HIVANCHAL : DISCOURSE WITH DATTA]

Baba [Nanak] proceeded to Hivanchal. [Climbing a mountain] he looked ahead and saw Datta[802] seated [there]. With him were many sanyasis—many thousands of them were sitting [there] with him. Baba [Nanak] went and sat at a distance from them [and from there] observed how four sanyasis would seize another sanyasi, dip [him in a]

[800]or perhaps : "He came to (another) mountain."

[801]Himachal, the Himalayas.

[802]The text gives Ditu, which suggests Diti, the earth goddess and mother of demons. The narrator's use of the masculine gender indicates, however, that the reference cannot be to Ditl. Subsequently the narrator refers to this personage as Datu (folio 187b). It appears that the figure so designated must be Dattatreya who in the *Bachitar Nāṭak* of Guru Gobind Singh is referred to as Datt. *MK*, p. 464. Dattatreya is said to have been born of Anasuya, wife [illegible], as a result of impregnation by Visnu. Dattatreya is also credit[illegible]ution of the Tantras and of Tantric rites. Alain Danielou, *Hindu Polytheism* (London, 1964), pp. 165, 183.

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Hivanchal [stream, and then] pull him out. They would pull him out of the freezing water and then] they would stock a fire. [Next] they would clothe [him] in many garments [and then] they would leave him in the sunshine. Some survived [this treatment] and some died.

Baba [Nanak] girded his loincloth[803] and leapt [down] from the mountain. The mountain was seven *kos* high. Baba [Nanak] leapt [down it] in three jumps [and reaching the bottom] repeated [the name of God]. "Sons," he called out, "leap [down] and bathe [here." When they did so] they discovered that the water felt [pleasantly] mild, [unlike the freezing water on the mountain].

187b When they had bathed and come out [of the water] Baba [Nanak] said, "Sons,[804] give them food."[805] This they did and then Baba [Nanak] said, "Go and lay my sheet (*chaddar*) on a bush. Whatever request you make will be granted. Do not remove the sheet."

Next Baba [Nanak] asked for rice, ghi and coarse sugar (*sakar*). They brought [these and] Baba [Nanak] dispensed a cupped handful[806] of rice, a cupped handful of sugar, and a cupful of (*ghī*). His cupped hands were like the hands of God, [for they held] a full five seers. Three times Baba [Nanak] gave them food [in this manner]. This is [indeed] a mighty Exalted One !" they exclaimed.

Datta left all [the sanyasis] and came to Baba [Nanak] by night. Approaching [Baba Nanak] Datta [greeted him], saying, "Hail to Narayan !"

"Come Gusaiji,"[807] replied Baba [Nanak], "be seated."

Datta sat down. When Datta looked at [Baba Nanak] it

188a was a supremely noble ascetic (*atīt*) whom he beheld—one beyond all comparing. "Babaji," said Datta, "show me some [wonderful deed]."

"Gusaiji," replied Baba [Nanak], "I have made *you* the Guru—[the one who is] to demonstrate [a miracle]. You show [*me* some wonderful deed]."

"Very well," said Datta. "Please watch."

First Datta summoned the river, but the river would not come. Next Datta summoned fire, but fire would not come

[803] *lāgar* (*lāṅg*) : the portion of a dhoti which is passed between the thighs.
[804] The identity of the persons (or person) addressed is not indicated.
[805] The intended recipients are presumably the sanyasis.
[806] *buk* : the two hands joined to form a cup; a double handful.
[807] 'Master of the cows'; strictly a Vaisnava epithet, but used indiscriminately as title of respect in many different Hindu sectarian traditions. B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar* (Simla, 1967), p. 161.

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either. Then Datta tried to make a deer-skin fly, but it refused to fly. Datta found that he was helpless. Nothing happened! Getting up he [came to] Baba (Nanak), the Perfected One, and fell at his feet. He prostrated himself, [declaring], "Blessed [are you] Baba [Nanak]! Blessed [are you] Baba [Nanak]! And blessed is this which you have done! You are yourself God,[808] but for the salvation of the world you have come in this [human] guise. If
188b anyone beholds your presence, sings and recites your [sacred] words, and instructs others in the recitation and singing of them he will be exalted. For him [the transmigratory round of] birth and death will be brought to an end." Filled with joy Datta returned to his company [of sanyasis].

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows.

ILLUSTRATION 47

THE RICH MAN'S PENNANTS[809]

Baba [Nanak left] that place and appeared in [another]
189a country. In the city [to which he had come] four pennants[810] were fluttering aloft. Baba [Nanak] asked what kind of pennants they were and the people replied, "There is a wealthy money-lender here. He has four coffers [containing] a large hoard of treasure [and to signify this] he flies four pennants over them."

Baba [Nanak] went to the money-lender and asked [him], "Shah,[811] what kind of pennants are these [which have been] hoisted [up there]?"

"Those pennants will accompany me [after my death]," replied the money-lender.

Baba [Nanak] then gave the money-lender a needle and said, "Brother Shah, keep this needle safe. I shall ask you to return it in heaven."[812] Having said this he arose and departed.

189b Later [the money-lender] began to worry, "How can I take this needle with me when I die?" [he asked himself].

[808] *Jotī-sarūp*: the divine effulgence, a conventional image of divinity.

[809] The *B40* table of contents (folio 228, Arabic pagination) gives "Baba ji visited Gujrat" as the heading of this sakhi. The sakhi is analysed in POT.

[810] *dhaj, dhajā*: a banner or standard; a banner hoisted ormance of a vow or the possession of substantial wealth.

[811] *shāh*: a wealthy man, normally a money-lender. See note 669.

[812] *daragāh vich*: 'in the (divine) court', i.e. after we have both died and meet again in heaven.

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"And how can I deliver it to that faqir in heaven ? I shall be put to shame." He arose and ran after Baba [Nanak], and [after running] more than two *kos* he caught up [with him]. Prostrating himself he said, "Take back your needle. There is no point in my keeping it."

"Shah," replied Baba [Nanak], "if there in no point in keeping this needle of mine, then how can those four treasure-chests accompany you [when you die] ?"

Then the portals of the money-lender's [understanding] opened. Error was swept away ! Joining his hands [in supplication] he stood [before Baba Nanak and] begged [for forgiveness]. Baba [Nanak] was overjoyed.

[The money-lender then] returned, gave away all his possessions, and applied himself to [the three-fold discipline
190a of repeating] the divine Name, [giving] charity, and [regular] bathing. He became a Sikh and found happiness. [The transmigratory round of] death and rebirth was broken, [for] the grace of the [supreme] Sadhu had come upon him. He had found happiness !

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows. A sakhi concerning [some] robbers follows.

ILLUSTRATION 48

190b THE ROBBERS AND THE FUNERAL PYRE

Next Baba [Nanak] appeared in a village inhabited by robbers.[813] [where] he spent the night at a robber's house. All the other robbers of the village gathered together and came to [the robber] in whose house [Baba Nanak was staying]. "Listen brother," [they said], "this is a fine prey which has fallen into your hands. He has a radiant face [and that can only mean] he has many possession. Make a thorough search for what he has concealed. We shall come early tomorrow morning and find out [how you have fared]. Having said this they departed, each to his own house.

That night, in accordance with the command [of God],[814] a deep sleep fell upon the village so that all slept until the first watch of the day.[815] [Meanwhile] Baba

[813] *thag* : thug. Strictly, a member of the cult of ritual murderers who strangled and robbed in the name of Kali, but loosely used to designate any highwayman or violent robber.

[814] Or perhaps of Baba Nanak.

[815] The period from 6 a.m. until 9 a.m.

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[Nanak] had risen early and departed. [When they awoke] all the robbers came and sat at the door [of Baba Nanak's
191a host] and called, "Bring [the loot] brother. Give us our share."

"Brothers !" he replied, "I was not told [of his early departure]. I was asleep and have only just woken."

[The other robbers] were furious. "He is lying !" [they cried]. "He has got his hands on many things and wants to keep [the lot]." They began to argue with him, [in spite of the fact that] he swore by his gurus, pirs, and all he held holy [that he spoke the truth].

Then four young men who where particularly cunning ran off in pursuit of Baba [Nanak]. After covering more than five or six *kos* they caught up with him in the wilderness. "Stop !" they cried, "or we shall each club you so hard that [your day of] salvation will come. You have robbed us. You have taken our property and decamped."

Baba [Nanak] stopped. "Whatever are you talking about, brothers ?" he asked.

191b "You have some possessions," they replied. "Hand them over. If you do so you will be spared, and if you do not we shall kill you on the spot."

"All right, keep cool,"[816] said Baba [Nanak], "I am in your power and I am not running away. Do one thing for me [before you take what I have] This is an auspicious place so let us make an offering[817] [to God] here."

"This is a wilderness !" they replied. "Why make an offering [here] ?"

Baba [Nanak, however], continued, [See] those buffalo cows grazing [there]. Beside those buffaloes there is a dish which has never been used. Milk [a buffalo] and bring [the milk in the dish] so that we may make *khīr*.[818]

They milked a buffalo and brought the milk. "From where shall we get fire ?" they asked. "There is no dwelling in the vicinity.

"There is smoke rising [yonder]," answered Baba [Nanak]. "Bring fire from there."

192a Two of the robbers went to bring fire and two remained to guard Baba [Nanak]. On the w[illegible]o went

[816]Although this expression suggests twentieth-century slang usage it is in fact an exact translation of the words attributed by the narrator to Baba Nanak : *bhallā tusī thaṇḍhe hovahu.*

[817]*parsād* : a propitiatory offering, normally of sweet food.

[818]A sweet dish of rice and milk.

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[to bring the fire] observed a man with an iron collar around his neck, manacled hand and foot, and with a chain attached to the collar. [Messengers of Yam] were dragging him along, hacking his back with an axe.

[Proceeding on] the robbers reached the spot from where smoke was rising [and discovered that] it was a burning funeral-pyre.[819] Taking fire [from it] they [set out to] return. And what should they see. The disciple (*sikh*) whom, when they were going [to the fire], they had observed being scourged was [now] a rich man riding in a palanquin ! The [divine] messengers (*dūt*) who had been beating and dragging him had become palanquin-bearers and were carrying the palanquin. The robbers could not resist asking
192b "Whatever is this ? We are dumbfounded by it : When we were going [the other way] we observed him in one condition and now we see him an entirely different one."

"Brothers," replied [the messengers] "this man was a monster, a wicked strangler,[820] and he had been consigned to the Kumbhi hell.[821] The smoke of his funeral pyre was, however, observed by a holy man (*sādh*) and for this reason he is being taken [instead] to Paradise."

When they realised [what] a miracle [had taken place] they were thunderstruck. They returned and fell at [Baba Nanak's] feet. Then they gave their friends an account of what had happened. "This truly is an Exalted One !" they declared. They [all] stood with palms together [and then] prostrated themselves. "O Lord, forgive our
193a wickedness. We are monstrous sinners."

They took Baba [Nanak] back to their village and all in the village became Sikhs. A dharamsala was built [and Baba Nanak] imparted [to them the three-fold discipline of repeating] the divine Name, [giving] charity, and [regular] bathing. [The transmigratory round of] death and rebirth was ended for them. They found happiness and turned to other [meritorious] deeds. Baba [Nanak] then left that place.

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [concerning a discourse] with a landowner.

[819] *masāṇu* : lit. the ground for burning corpses.

[820] Strangulation is commonly regarded as the most heinous of all crimes.

[821] *kumbhī narak* : a hell in which those who have been particularly wicked bake like pottery jars (*kumbh*) in a kiln.

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ILLUSTRATION 49

193b

A ROBBER LANDOWNER CONVERTED

Baba [Nanak] appeared in another area. Inhabited by thieves. [There lived in that locality] an important robber chief, a landowner who possessed five hundred mares and who grazed many milk-giving buffaloes. Other thieves were afraid of him. He was very religious, giving generously [to holy men] and serving ascetics who passed his way with bountiful generosity.

[There] Baba [Nanak] appeared. [The landowner] took Baba [Nanak] to his house and treated him very hospitably.

"What is your occupation ?" asked Baba [Nanak].

"Sir, you [already] know," answered the landowner, and went on, "Sir, make me [your] Sikh."

"If you abandon this occupation I shall make you [my] Sikh," replied Baba [Nanak].

"Whatever else you may command I shall obey," declared the landowner. "Even if you demand my head [or] my life here they are [for you to take]. But this
194a occupation I have inherited from my ancestors. I am ashamed now to clasp your feet [as a disciple, for] I can never relinquish this [my traditional occupation]."

Baba [Nanak nevertheless] made him a Sikh and charged him : "Brother, you must observe [the following] practices."

"Tell [me what they are and I shall obey]," promised [the landowner].

"Three things must be firmly embedded [in your memory]" said Baba [Nanak]. "The first is that regardless of whether you commit theft or follow any other occupation you must tell the truth. [Always] tell the truth. Secondly, do not think evil of anyone whose salt you eat. Do not show ingratitude. Thirdly, do not injure the poor. Do not strike a poor person. These three things must be implanted [in you. If they are observed] your Guru will be Merciful [to you]." Baba [Nanak] then left that place.

[After he had gone] the landowner said [to himself], "I
194b shall burgle the house of [that] raja once more and then I shall give up [this occupation]. This is what the sadhu commands."

The landowner arose, clad himself and buckled on five weapons. Then he mounted his horse and approached the raja's, gate by night. [By the time he arrived] five or six hours of the night had passed. He

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began to make his way to the bed-chamber. "Who are you, entering at this hour, brother ? demanded the gate-keeper [and the landowner] replied "I am a thief." The gate-keeper took fright, [thinking], "He who speaks in this manner must be some royal personage."

In this way [the thief] passed through six doors [and then] sat down [to wait]. At midnight all [in the raja's
195a house] went to sleep in their respective places. [The robber landowner] then arose and all the valuable articles he could lay his hands on he tied in large bundles. In a niche[822] in the wall there was a container which he opened in the dark. He discovered that it contained an edible mixture and when he tasted it [he found that] it was the salt-cellar.

Then he was sorry [for what he had done]. "My Guru has said that I must not think evil of him whose salt I eat. How long shall I live ? [Life is short so why] do I [continue] to perform these [evil] deeds ?" Leaving the tied bundles and the open container he rushed outside.

Next morning there was uproar [in the palace]. "The raja's house has been burgled but not a single penny[823]
195b has gone !" [cried the people]. The raja was astonished. "This is most remarkable," [he said].

The raja then interrogated all the gate-keepers and [night-] watchmen. "How did this happen ?" [he asked].

"Sire," they answered, "we know only this that during the night a person of royal blood entered. We asked him, 'Who are you, coming in at this hour ? He replied, 'I am a thief.' We knew that a thief would never announce himself in this manner, nor enter in such a way as to awaken people. [We realised that] he must be some royal personage and therefore we were afraid."

The raja became very curious [to know who had entered and so] he commanded, "Proclaim by beat of drum that
196a if he who did this deed surrenders himself voluntarily I shall reward him handsomely."

[Having heard the proclamation] the robber landowner came and stood [before the raja]. He saluted the raja and said, "I am the thief who came during the night, sire."

"Why did you do it, brother ?" asked the raja. "Tell [me] exactly what happened and do not lie."

"Sire, I am indeed a thief," replied the landowner. "Rousing the people [at the gates] I entered the t

[822] *jālā* : a triangular niche.

[823] *fulās* : a small copper coin, strictly a plural (sing. *fals*) but also used in a singular sense.

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and taking whatever things I desired I tied [them] in large bundles. When I opened a container [which I had taken] from a niche in the wall I perceived that [it contained] some foodstuff. I tasted it — and it was salt! My divine Guru had told me: 'Speak the truth, son, and think no evil of
196b him whose salt you eat.' For this reason I abandoned the tied bundles."

The raja was delighted. "All praise to your faithfulness!" he declared. "One should [indeed] place such trust in [the commandments of] gurus." The raja gave [him] a robe of honour and bestowed [upon him] many other gifts. He made [the landowner] his chief minister, above all others holding places of high authority. The raja became a Sikh, prostrated himself before him,[824] and began [the practice of] chanting "Praise to the Guru. Praise to the Guru."[825] He still yearned, however, for an opportunity to behold Guru Baba [Nanak].[826]

[A RAJA'S DAUGHTER TURNED INTO A BOY]

Now the wife of the raja was the daughter of Sikh [parents]. Beneath the raja's palace was the dharamsala where the Sikhs sang hymns and performed *kirtan*. [Sitting there the raja] would fix his attention on the music of [whatever] hymn [the Sikh were singing]. One day the rani said
197a to the raja, "Raja, how is it that no children have been born in our house? Let us go to the dharamsala and lay our petition before the sangat, [for] the Guru is [present] in the sangat."

"An excellent idea!" replied the raja.

Next day the raja and the rani both joined the sangat. It was an Ekadasi gathering. There was a congregational festival (*mela*) and a large gathering was present.[827] A hymn was being sung and all were sitting enthralled. The raja

[824]It is not clear what this means. It may be a metaphor signifying submission to the absent Guru, or it may be a literal prostration before one who has already met the Guru (i.e. the landowner).

[825]*vāh gurū, vāh gurū.*

[826]This sentence provides the transition to another anecdote. The narrative which follows is a separate story, clearly set in a location different from that of the tale of the converted landowner. The link connecting the two anecdotes is the prominence in each case of an unnamed raja. The compiler has fused the two rajas into a single figure (a somewhat self-contradicto het wo stories as a single sakhi. The converted landowner, c ecdote, does not appear in the second.

[827]This must mean that Ekadasi (or Ikadasi) was an important occasion in the Sikh calender of the janam-sakhi period. For Ekadasi see note 683.

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and the rani then presented their petition, [saying]. "You are the assembly of the Guru and [whatever] is sought from you is granted. May it please you [to hear our intercession] so that the Guru may grant a son."

[Those who were present in the sangat] offered a prayer [in order that] the raja's faith might remain [unshaken. Then they assured him], "The Guru Baba will grant you a son."

197b They returned home and after some time the rani became pregnant. In due time [a child] was born, [but] when [the attendants] looked [at it they saw that] it was a girl who had been born! They went and communicated to the raja the news that a girl had been born. "You are talking nonsense," exclaimed the raja. "A boy has been born."

As time passed the girl grew up and the raja imagined that [it was] a boy [who] had grown up. "Let a marriage be arranged for the boy," he commanded.

Now there was another raja who had in his family a daughter. A marriage proposal was sent to him and he accepted, [saying], "How fortunate I am to have received this honour." He had his pandit communicate [his] blessing and [perform] whatever other ceremonies were required for [the preparation of] the marriage. All [his] relatives gathered there and the betrothal ceremony was duly performed. The pandit then departed [to announce acceptance of the

198a offer]. The people whispered behind the raja' back, "The raja is mad! He is ruining another." The raja heard [what was said], but paid no head. He imagined that his [child] was a prince—the king of kings.

At the appointed time the marriage-ceremony began. The girl was bathed, dressed in male garments, and seated on a mare. The 'bridegroom' then set out in procession and many people accompanied [the party] to witness the celebration. "Let us see what happens," [they said].

And so the 'bridegroom's' party departed. [The anticipated disaster did not, take place, however, for] Guru Baba [Nanak] upholds the reputation of his name.[828] To protect the honour of his disciple, and in recognition of the raja's love and trust, he assumed a disguise. Turning into a golden deer he appeared before t[illegible]

198b party. The young 'man' boldly spurred [illegible] the deer and galloping [ahead] he left the party far behind.

[828]The birth of a son had been solicited in his name. In order that the reputation for efficacy in such intercessions should be preserved it was vital that he should intervene.

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Dodging hither and thither the deer [finally] ran into a garden and the young 'man' followed in pursuit. [When he entered the garden] he found an Exalted One sitting there. He prostrated himself and Baba [Nanak] said, "Come, child, the Guru will fulfill your desire." [The young 'man' again] fell at his feet.

Then the party arrived, following in search [of their 'bridegroom']. The raja entered the garden [and he too] observed the Exalted One sitting [there. He also observed that] the girl's features had become those of a male. The raja fell at [Baba Nanak's] feet and the boy said, "Rajaji, this is that Guru Baba [to whom you offered intercession]."

Having [thus] beheld him the raja reverently walked
199a round him and then prostrated himself, [declaring], "Blessed is my destiny ! All glory to thee, O true King, [for] thou art the fulfiller of [thy servant's] yearning. What mouth can praise thee ? [Thy excellence is beyond all praising] !"

It greatly pleased Guru Baba [Nanak to hear this]. "Worthy is your devotion, and worthy your faith !" [he said]. "It is such discipleship that I need. Go, the Guru is always with you. Wherever you offer worship, there you shall find him."

Joyfully the raja departed. The entire party was astounded. All became Sikhs and began [the practice of] chanting, "Guru, Guru." Having celebrated the marriage they carried the bridal-litter to [the bridegroom's] house. Wonder reigned over the whole city [and all] continued chanting, "Guru, Guru."

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [describing] a discourse held with Sheikh Sharaf.

199b **ILLUSTRATION 50**

200a **A DISCOURSE WITH SHEIKH SHARAF IN BAGHDAD**[829]

Once Baba [Nanak] visited the city of Baghdad[830] [where]

[829] This heterodox discourse briefly interrupts the compiler'e lengthy run of *Narrative III* anecdotes.

[830] The janam-sakhis are conspicuously silent concerning Baghdad. This is curious because Bhai Gurdas describes at some length a visit to the city by Baba Nanak *BG* 1 : 35-36. The *Gyān-ratanāvalī*, based upon Bhai Gurdas's account, naturally reproduces his Baghdad anecdote, but no other early ns the visit. This *B40* sakhi, which relates an entirely differe other exception to the janam-sakhis' general silence concerning Baghdad. For a discussion of external evidence offered in support of a visit by Nanak to Baghdad see *GNSR*, pp. 125-32, and V.L. Menage, "The 'Guru Nanak' inscription at Baghdad", forthcoming in *JRAS*.

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he observed Sheikh Sharaf[831] wearing the sixteen adornments.[832] [He was clad in] female garments and arrayed in all manner of jewellery. To his eyes he had applied black eye-shadow (*anjan*) and his hands he had stained red with henna. He sang romantic songs (*ghazal*) in the bazaar and drew enormous crowds.

"What dress is this which you have adopted, Sheikh ?" asked Baba [Nanak].

"I have not found my Beloved," he answered. "To find my Beloved I have adorned [myself] in this manner."

"Sheikhji," said Baba [Nanak], "[the [divine] Husband takes no pleasure in such attire. It is Truth that He seeks and adoring love that He desires. That which pleases Him is something unusual. If it pleases Him then no matter
200b how [a man] may pour himself out in years of service the service of his entrie lifetime is fruitless if he imagines himself to be worth anything. [On the other hand] if [a man] commits the sins of innumerable existences and then, if the Master so wills, meets one who has attained the Truth he is saved. It is [dependent on] the favour of the Master. Whatever He desires, that He performs. But you who sing ghazals—sing something for us."

Sheikh [Sharaf] sang [two compositions] in *Dhanāsarī* raga.

Rāg Dhanāsarī

Everyday I ask the Brahman astrologer
When shall I find my Beloved ?

[831]Sheikh Sharaf al-Din of Panipat, a popular figure with the janam-sakhi narrators, predeceased Guru Nanak by at least two hundred years. *GNSR*, p. 82. Abu al-Fazl claims that he was an associate of Shams al-Din Tabrizi and Jalal al-Din Rumi during their travels in Rum (Byzantium). *Ā'īn* III. 368-69.

[832]Sixteen traditional ornaments or embellishments applied by a woman to attract her lover. The tradition became a part of the erotic imagery of the Sufis and was used (as in this instance) to give expression to the devotee's yearning for God. Cf. Guru Arjan's *Phunahe* (3), *AG* b. 1361. Abu al-Fazl enumerates the sixteen ornaments as follows :

A Woman is adorned by sixteen things :—(1) Bathing. (2) Anointing with oil. (3) Braiding the hair. (4) Decking the crown of her head with jewels. (5) Anointing with sandal-wood unguent. (6) The wearing of dresses and these are of various kinds.....(7) Sectarial marks of caste and often decked with pearls and golden ornaments. (8) Tinting e collyrium. (9) Wearing earrings. (10) Adorning with s and gold. (11) Wearing ornaments round the neck. (12) Decking with garlands of flowers or pearls. (13) Staining the hands. (14) Wearing a belt hung with small bells. (15) Decorating the feet with gold ornaments. (16) Eating *pan*, Finally blandishments and artfulness.

—*Ā'īn* III. 311-12.

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When shall I be set free from the misery of separation? 1.

I am in torment, O mother; my spirit burns.
I have not beheld my Master; both [my] eyes are filled [with tears]. *Refrain*

Every day I despatch the crow [with a message for my beloved].
At night I count the stars, unable to sleep.
201a As the papiha[833] cries [for the rain-drop] so cry I [for my Beloved]. 2.

Without my Beloved I cannot endure a moment.
As the kulang separated [from its mate] cries [in anguish],
As the fish deprived of water writhes [in agony, So do I suffer the absence of my Beloved]. 3.

Hasten not, Sheikh Sharaf.
The one who yearns [for union with the Beloved] will suffer not one wound [but many].
O mad one, have you forgotten [the joy of the Master's] presence? 4.

Dhanāsarī

Lay yourself in a mill and grind yourself;
Boil your limbs in dye;
As your body is dyed like a cloth,
So is [your spirit] steeped in the fast colour[834] of the divine Name. 1.

Thus is drunk the cup of love,
[And thus] does one live in this world a life of obedience. *Refrain*

[As a brick] is fired in a kiln;
[As] cotton is teased;
[As] a sesame seed is squeezed in an oil-press,
So [by like suffering] is the light [of understanding] kindled [in the *man*]. 2.

[Steel] is heated in the fire of a furnace;
It endures beating by a hammer on an anvil.

[833]The piedcrested cuckoo. See note 740.

[834]*majṭṭh*: *Rubia cordifolia* (madder), the root of which yields a fast red dye; a conventional image signifying the immutability of the divine Name in contrast with the inconstancy of *māyā* and of the wayward *man* of unregenerate man.

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201b [Finally it] is rendered beautiful by the burnisher. 3.

Be the tree from which [the Master's] rabab is made;
Be slaughtered like a goat [sacrificed to him].
What is the value of futile discussion ?
This is the song which Sharaf sings. 4.

Baba [Nanak] then gave his reply.[835]

Rāg Dhanāsarī

I have come to the door of submission;
I have invited the Master into my abode.
If the Master so pleases He gathers me in His embrace. 1.

In doing this, O mother, I found Him
Eyes filled [with tears of joy] I beheld [my] Beloved and was at peace. *Refrain*

He considered neither my virtue nor my iniquity.
He observed neither my appearance nor physical beauty.
To him who entered my dwelling I gave my love. 2.

As the chakvi,[836] gazing at the sun, finds bliss ;
Like the chatrik[837] which received the rain-drop, so is my heart enraptured,
[For] I have met my Beloved and found [the supreme] happiness. How can my value be accounted ! 3.

202a Nanak says, thus does one find delight in the Master.
When a dumb man tastes nectar he can but smile.
He who has drunk it—he it is who knows ! 4.

Sheikh Sharaf touched his feet [and cried], "Wondrously fortunate am I that one so great should have visited me[838] ! [Truly] you are the refuge of the poor. Be merciful [to a worthless wretch]."

Baba [Nanak] looked graciously upon him, where upon Sheikh was purged of human understanding and endued with divine reason.[839] The very hairs of his body stood

[835]This shabad is not in the Adi Granth.

[836]*Casarea ferruginea*, the ruddy sheldrake or Brahmani duck which was believed to love the sun. Cf. Guru Nanak's *Sirī Rāgu Aṣṭ* 11 (4), *AG* p. 60. The same *aṣṭapadī* also uses other conventional images symbolising the devotee's love for God.

[837]See note 740.

[838]*ghar baiṭhā gaṅgā āī*, lit. 'I was seated at home and the Ganges came [to me].'

[839]dṛib dṛiṣṭ : lit. 'two visions', *danav* (human) and *dev* (divine). The *danav dṛiṣṭ* fades away and is replaced by the *dev dṛiṣṭ*.

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erect[840] and ecstasy came [upon him]. In everything that he could see he perceived God—in everything that existed, both visible and concealed. Baba [Nanak] departed joyfully and going to a certain place rested there.

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [describing a discourse which] Babaji held with a [certain] Sikh.

202b

ILLUSTRATION 51

203a

[THE REWARD OF MEETING A SADHU]

Because of the devotion of a certain Sikh Baba [Nanak] went and sat outside [that Sikh's] town. [In it] there lived this Sikh who was most hospitable to [other] Sikhs who passed that way. When he was bidding farewell to [these] Sikhs he used to ask them, "Brother, what reward is to be gained from meeting a sadhu[841] ?" Some said one thing and some said another, [but] he was not satisfied.

Then one day Baba [Nanak] visited his house. [The Sikh] served him with great devotion [and then], early [next] morning, with palms joined he asked, "Sir, what reward is to be gained from meeting a sadhu ?"

"Tomorrow you shall learn what reward is to be derived from meeting a sadhu," answered Baba [Nanak]. "At a certain place[842] in the jungle there is a tree. Whoever is there will give you the satisfaction [which you seek]. If

203b you do not find your answer there return to me."

Next day the Sikh went [to the tree where] he observed a pair of crows, male and female, sitting under the tree.

Nothing else [was to be seen and so] after lingering for two or three hours he arose and returned to baba [Nanak].

"Well brother Sikh, did you find your answer or not ?" asked Baba [Nanak].

"No one was there," he replied. "A pair of crows were sitting there [but nothing else]. How could I find my answer ?"

"Very well," said Baba [Nanak] "Return to that same place tomorrow."

[840] *rūm rūm* : erection of the body-hair in the condition of ecstasy.

[841] *sādhū* in the literal sense of one who has attained perfection st for salvation has been fulfilled. For a classic definition of the true sadhu see *Bhāgavata Purāna* XI.11. Purnendu Narayana Sinha, *A Study of the Bhāgavata Purāna* (Adyar, Madras, 1950), p. 600.

[842] *falāṇe thāī* : lit. "at such and such a place."

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Next day he went again and [this time] he saw a pair of white herons sitting [there]—but [again] no person. He sat for two or three hours and then returned to Baba [Nanak].

"Well brother Sikh, did you find your answer or not ?" asked Baba [Nanak].

204a "A pair of white herons were sitting [there]," he replied, "but no person. How could I find my answer ?"

"Very well," said Baba [Nanak]. "Return again tomorrow."

[And so] he went again next day [and this time] he saw a pair of swans, male and female, sitting there—but [still] no person. [Again] he sat for two or three hours and then returned to Baba [Nanak].

"Well brother Sikh, did you find your answer or not ?" asked Baba [Nanak].

"A pair of swans were sitting [there]," he replied, [but again] there was no person. How could I find my answer ?"

"Very well, brother Sikh," said Baba [Nanak]. "Return again tomorrow."

The following day the Sikh went again [and this time] he saw a women and a man sitting [there]. He prostrated himself before them and asked them, "Friends, what reward

204b is to be gained from meeting a sadhu ?

"You have just discovered what reward is to be gained from meeting a sadhu," they replied. "We have just obtained the reward of *your* presence, with the result that our destiny[642] has been redeemed. We were bloody sinners and so we had earned rebirth as crows. On that first day when we beheld your presence we were changed into a pair of herons. On the second day when we beheld presence we were transformed into swans And on the third day when we beheld your presence we obtained the body and intelligence of human beings. Blessings upon your Guru (*gurdev*) that [at his command] you appeared [before us and] redeemed us sinners ! Take us to your Guru."

Then the portals of the sadhu's [understanding] opened and purged of human understanding he was endued with divine reason. All [three] went and fell at Baba [Nanak's] feet. "Well brother, have you found your answer ?" asked Baba [Nanak].

205a "True King," the Sikh reverently repli

know the immensity of your own spiritual power. When

[642] *janam* : lit. 'birth'; the wretched incarnation as a crow which, in accordance with the law of *Karma*, resulted from the misdeeds of previous incarnations.

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one meets God what need is there of [further] satisfaction ?"

Baba [Nanak] was filled with joy. He taught [them the three-fold discipline of repeating] the divine Name, [giving] charity, and [regular] bathing, [and then] he left that place.

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [which relates] a discussion concerning [true] renunciation.

ILLUSTRATION 52

205b [A DISCOURSE CONCERNING TRUE RENUNCIATION]

A discourse [which] took place with a learned faqir.[844]

"Real[845] renunciation," said Baba [Nanak], should be inward. But how can there be inward renunciation ? [True renunciation is inward] in the same way that a grain of *saṭhī*[846] is within its husk. After a cleansing process the kernel is obtained from within. If there is inward renunciation [the kernel of Truth can be obtained] by this method, regardless of whether one is a family man or celibate.

"If one does not live as a family man, but [instead] goes out [into the world to beg] then he assumes the dress of a faqir. He has his head shaved, puts on a [faqir's] hat, dons a *kafnī*,[847] and ties on a loin-cloth. Then these clothes raise cries of woe and lamentation. These garments
206a of God say, 'Do not put us on. They who put us on should do so only if they perform deeds [which merit the privilege]. Otherwise they should not put us on. Put on [clothes] which correspond [to the deeds which you perform].'

"[The aspiring faqir] asks, 'Pray tell [me], what are these clothes which, when donned, bring glory [to the one who wears them] ?'

"The clothes reply, 'Shaving of the head and the wearing of a hat is for [small] children. [One is] a child, 'they continued, "for as long as one crawls [on hands and knees]. If you are like a child then use us, [but] if you have reached maturity then do not use us."[848]

[844]*failasūf fakīr.* No further reference is made to a faqīr, nor to any other interlocutor. The "learned faqir" has evidently been introduced in order to provide a setting for the statement concerning *faqīrī* (renuciation) which occupies the remainder of the sakhi.

[845]pahile : lit. firstly, primarily.

[846]A variety of rice which grows and ripens in sixty days.

[847]A length of cloth resembling a *Kafan* (winding-sheet), worn by faqirs.

[848]The shaving of heads is a ceremony to be carried out in childhood, and the wearing of hats is a practice suitable only for children. For the man of mature understanding such external symbols are pointless.

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"And the *kafnī* said, 'O friend of God, you who would don me, the *kafnī* is the apparel of the dead. If while yet alive you have died [to self] then put [me] on. But if any worldly desire remains [within you] do not put me on.'

"Then the dung-rake[849] said, 'O slave of God, I gather rubbish together and drag it away. If you abandon selfish desire and become aware of the fire [of separation]
206b from God before it bursts into full flame[850] then use me, but if you are unaware of the fire then do not use me.'[851]

"Then the begging-bowl said, 'O slave of God, you who use me, if you are proceeding towards that destination [which is true renunciation] then use me, [but otherwise do not.' The aspiring faqir] asked, 'O begging-bowl, how do you proceed on your way?' The begging-bowl replied, 'My way is [the way of] inversion. Other vessels have their faces[852] [turned] upwards, but my face is [turned] down. If your face is turned away from the pleasures which exist in the world then use me. Otherwise do not use me.'[853]

"What then is the object of renunciation? Once [a man] leaves his own house should he go and beg from the houses of the worldly, [or] should he sit patiently [and simply] have faith in God? What is the point of meeting God when you are no longer alive? If he who has renounced
207a the world is compelled to retain his connection with the world and to beg in order that he may eat, then he will not have the meeting with God [which he seeks and] will attain no objective. If he does not attain to this kind of renunciation—[the kind which is effective]—it would be better for him to stay at home [and live as a family man]. Perhaps through a certain amount of effort [on his part] the Name of God will come forth [from his mouth].[854] Whenever he performs *this* kind of renunciation [his effort

[849]*phahorī*: a rake for removing dung &c. from stables.

[850]*dhukhai*: the early stage of a fire before it flares up, alight but still only smouldering.

[851]The function of the dung-rake is to remove the filth of egoism and worldly desire. Only the man who becomes aware of his need of it can use it.

[852]*muhi*: both 'face' and 'mouth'. In this context both meanings are intended, with 'mouth' signifying the open portion of the begging-bowl.

[853]Again the stress is laid upon the inward response. Normally a begging-bowl is turned upwards in order to receive offerings. Begging is, however, inconsistent with true renunciation. Let your begging-bowl be turned upside-down. Let your attention be turned away from the world to what lies within.

[854]The way of true renunciation is the repeating of the divine Name. This required discipline but not a discipline which necessarily involves a total severance worldly ties and activity. It is a discipline which can as effectively be practised by one who lives as a householder and continues to pursue his worldly vocation.

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is effective, whereas] if he does not perform [this inward variety] he is a hypocrite.

"And what do hypocrites do ? They merely make a show [of renunciation]. Hypocrites are neither real yogis nor real sanyasis. All that concerns them is the outward appearance. Outwardly they play a part [while] inwardly they mock [the way of life which they are pretending to follow]. Even if he is a yogi or a sanyasi, a pir, a bhagat, or a [hatha-yoga] adept, if the fire [of worldly desire] remains within [him] he is a hypocrite. If [on the other hand] the fire is extinguished then he is [not merely] a
207b faqir [but] also a pir, a murid, a sikh,[855] and a guru !"

All glory to Baba Nanak, the slave of God ! All praise to thy wondrous achievement ! The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows : A discourse held with Gorakh [nath], together with a discourse held with Kal.

ILLUSTRATION 53

208a [DISCOURSES WITH GORAKHNATH AND WITH KAL]

Gorkh [nath] asked :[856]

With what is the earth covered and with What brush is the sky [painted blue] ?
Gorakh says, Hearken Nanak ! Does the road to heaven lead up or down ? 1.

[Baba Nanak replied] :

The divine Word is the earth's covering [and] hearing [of the Word] the sky's brush.[857]
Nanak says, Hearken Gorakh ! The road to heaven is up, not down. 2.

[Gorakhnath then posed a second riddle] :

How many fingers-breadth wide is the sky, O man; in how many segments of the heavens are there stars ?
How many gods are there in the Kaliyuga, O man; how does Indra[858] cause rain to fall ? 3.

[855]The terms *murid* and *sikh* both mean 'disciple', the former designating the disciple of a Sufi *pir*.

[856]None of the compositions quoted in this sakhi are to be found in the Adi Granth.

[857]Man is everywhere surrounded by the divine Word. Through his faculty of psychic or mystical perception he appropriates the [illegible] with it. In Nath usage the 'sky', with its obvious intimation [illegible] lies the arena of mystical perception. (See note 735) Guru Nanak uses the same image, but characteristically does so in a sense which transfers it from Nath doctrine to his own beliefs. Cf. *Mārū* 11 (5), *AG* p. 992.

[858]Indra, as god of the firmament, is the deity responsible for rainfall.

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[Baba Nanak replied]:

The sky is the breadth of four fingers and there are stars in both segments [of the heavens].
In the Kaliyuga there is but one God; Indra neither causes the rain to fall nor gives salvation. 4.

[Gorakhnath] the Siddh then summoned Kal,[859] and Kal recited a shalok:

I smite the man who is rising, I smite the man who is sitting, and I smite the man who is sleeping.
My capacious net is spread over the four yugas; where can you remain [free from it], O son? 5.

208b Baba [Nanak] replied [with another] shalok:

When rising I am alert, when sitting I am alert, [even] when sleeping I am alert [to the presence of God].
He who remains detached from the four yugas—he is the son of Baba [Nanak]. 6.

[Kal declared]:

If I make the whole earth a begging-bowl and spread the sky [over it as a covering];
If I bestow much [worldly] wealth [upon those who dwell] in the four yugas, then where, O Nanak, would your dwelling-place be?[860] 7.

[Baba Nanak replied]:

I shall control my senses and keep a tongue of truth, [My understanding is] wider than the earth and loftier than the heavens.[861]
With senses and tongue [in subjection] to the One [Lord], says Nanak, I shall in this manner elude Kal. 8.

[When he heard this] Kal was downcast and said, "I am at your service. [Command me as you wish]." Baba [Nanak] praised Kal and uttered [the following] shalok:

What will happen if ones not understand [the true function of this] human frame?

[859] *kal*: time; death; Yam, the Vedic god of the dead. Siva, as th
also been identified with Kal. A. Danielou, *Hindu Polytheism* (I
pp. 132, 201. Kal should not be confused with Kal or Kali (i.e. the Kaliyuga).
[860] Dwelling in the midst of an abundance of worldly wealth you too would be involved in the pursuit and use of it.
[861] It is not confined to this world or to the four yugas.

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[What will happen] if one walks in error for a hundred years ?
[What can happen] if one prolongs one's life to a hundred years ?
In the end, O brother, Kal will strike down this human
209a frame. 9.

When Kal comes where can one go ?
Kal consumes everything in all creation.
When Kal comes where can one flee ?
To what shelter can one escape and dwell [in safety] ?
In what direction can one fly ?
The fourteen regions [of the world] are all under Kal's sway.
Ram and the Prophet[862] are chained by Kal.
Nanak too looks upon Kal with respect.[863] [Kal] comes and goes [as he pleases];
When Kal comes he can take whom he chooses.
When [a man] purifies himself and looks upon [other] men.
Wherever he looks he sees Nanak standing.[864]

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows : A discourse held with Guru Angad.

209b

ILLUSTRATION 54

210a

[THE WAY OF SALVATION]

A discourse which Guru Baba Nanakji held with Guru Angad[865]

One day, [during the period when he was residing at] Kartarpur in the land of Punjab, Guru Baba Nanak went and sat beside the river Ravi.[866] Following Guru Baba [Nanak] ji, Guru Angad [also] went and sat [there]. Halfway through the third watch of the night[867] Guru Baba [Nanak] went and sat at the [very] edge of the Ravi river.

[862] *rām rasūl* : Ram Chander and the Apostle (*rasūl*) Muhammad, i.e. all gods and all divine messengers, both Hindu and Muslim.

[863] No one can dispute Kal's power to take life.

[864] In all men he sees the omnipresent Nanak, the corporate manifestation of the divine Name.

[865] The next two sakhis are didactic discourses borrowed *urbān* source. See *Mth JS* II, 388-91.

[866] The village of Kartarpur is on the banks of the Ravi, See Note 339.

[867] *aḍhāī* (*ḍhāī*) *pahar* : after two and a half watches, viz. 1.30 a.m.

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When it came to the last watch of the night[868] Guru Baba [Nanak] removed his clothes, bathed, and dressed again. Then Guru Baba [Nanak] sat down to meditate. He began to meditate upon God and to sing the praises of his Master.

Shalok[869]

They who offer praise in the early morning, who meditate with attention undivided,
Supreme[870] kings are they, for they have fought [their battles] at the proper hour.
In the second [watch of the day][871] the mind follows many paths and thought is scattered;
A multitude [of concerns] drag one into the deep ocean [of worldly tumult] and submerged he does not rise.
In the third [watch][872] he shovels food into his mouth, burning with both hunger and thirst.
210b That which he consumes is turned to ashes and so he desires yet more to eat.
In the fourth [watch][873] drowsiness steals [over him]; he shuts his eyes and falls into deep slumber.
And arising he returns to the fray, to the arena prepared by centuries [of strife].[874]
Every hour is the hour [for worship] if throughout all eight watches [one holds to] the fear [of God].
When the Lord dwells within the heart [of a man] then, O Nanak, is he truly cleansed.[875]

Baba Nanak ji recited this shalok and then cried, "All glory be to [Thee], True King! None can praise Thee, [for Thou art far beyond the praise of mere men]. Who is he who can utter Thy praises? There is none who knows how to praise Thee, [none who knows] what praise [to

[868]3 a.m.
[869]*Vār Mājh* 17:1, *AG* pp. 145-46.
[870]*Pūre*. Elsewhere in this quotation and throughout the sakhi the word *pūrā* is translated 'perfect', 'perfection', 'the Perfect One'.
[871]9 a.m. to 12 noon.
[872]Noon to 3 p.m.
[873]At 3 p.m.
[874]The meaning of the second half of the line is obscure. For the interpretation see Folio 207b.
[875]*sachā nāvaṇ*: 'the true bathing'; spiritual 'bathing', inward immersion in the divine Name as opposed to external ablutions.

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offer] Thee. If anyone can compute Thy bounds, then he can utter [a sufficiency of] praises to Thee, [but Thou art infinite and so] none can know the manner of praising Thee.

"How then can a creature such as I utter Thy praises? To the extent that I was able I have praised those who desire to repeat Thy Name. In the early morning we should recite [it], daily we should recite [it]. Early in the
211a morning we should remember the names of those who have worshipped the Name of God with undivided [devotion]. In the morning let me praise the names of those who have worshipped Thee with undivided love. I shall repeat the names of those who have, with undivided [devotion], repeated Thy Name. Renouncing [all] trust in worldly attractions, abandoning [all] love for [such] worldly desires, transferring [my] affections from [thoughts] of worldly power and pleasure I have rivetted them to the divine Name. Thy Name is [worthy of] undivided attention.

"What is to be repeated at that time?[876] If Thou art merciful I shall repeat their names. What kind [of people] are they [whose names I shall repeat]? They are those who repeat Thy Name. They who have repeated Thy Name at that time are supreme kings, the possessors of fabulous wealth.

"There are, [however], many who seek to obstruct this
211b observance. They are obstructors who cannot be restrained. What power do these obstructors have? What kind of obstructors are they? They do not permit a man to meditate upon the divine Name at that hour [of the morning]. These obstructors are such [indomitable foes] that one powerful man [from amongst them] can overthrow the whole world and render it impotent. They are the kind [of people] who bring distress and cause evil deeds to be performed. They divert a man from the [right] path to the wrong. They force [him] off the [right] path [onto the one] where all his happiness is destroyed. Before them kings, rulers, heros, warriors are helpless. There are eighteen thousand of these [malevolent] assailants who act as obstructors at that hour [of the morning]. At that hour they do not let a man repeat the divine Name. There are some warriors who fight for one day and then take flight, but these are the kind of warriors who fight every day.
212a He who is truly valiant fights every day.

"The one whom I acknowledge as my king is he who

[876]In the early morning.

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awakens at [the beginning of] the last watch of the night[877] and meditates upon the divine Name. When the second watch of the day comes round[878] a man's mind runs after a multitude of concerns. The second watch does not serve the purpose of meditation in the manner of that [early] hour. [During the day] his mind pursues a multitude of worldly concerns and runs after selfish interests. He is completely absorbed in the pursuit of worldly wealth. Ensnared by cupidity he is unable to break loose. Imbued with the spirit of avarice he plunges into the river of desire. He plunges in and is immersed in the selfish quest for wordly gain.

"When the third watch of the day comes round[879] he feels hungry and, while still remaining absorbed in worldly affairs, shovels food into his mouth. Hunger and thirst
212b force [him to eat and drink]. And so he eats and when the fourth watch of the night[880] has come he lies down. Drowsiness steals [over him], he shuts his eyes, and falls into deep slumber. When he murmurs in his sleep he still talks about the same things and begins once again the quarrels and disputes, the lusts, the anger, the avarice, the concern for worldly desires, and the pride[881] [which occupy his waking hours]. He begins to imagine that he has been allotted a life-span of a hundred years [and says to himself], 'I shall not die, nor do I live in fear of anyone.' In this proud [imagining] he wallows, never remembering God [but instead] remaining [altogether withdrawn] from the remembrance of Him.

"All times [of the day] are appropriate for meditating on God, but he who with devotion and fear [of God] repeats the Name of God during the eighth watch, [that is, during] the last watch of the night, [has chosen] the period which is beneficial beyond all others. If at that hour the Master's Name dwells in his *man* [to him will accrue the merit of]
213a bathing at the sixty-eight pilgrimage-centres."[882]

[877] 3 a.m.
[878] 9 a.m. to 12 midday.
[879] 12 midday to 3 p.m.
[880] If in fact the copyist intended to write *rāti* (night) the time indicated is 3 a.m. It seems evident, however, that he intended to write *din* (day) which would mean 3 p.m.
[881] *kām, krodh, lobh, moh, and haṅkār* : the five traditional evil impulses.
[882] He will earn as much merit as the person who bathes at all the pilgri (*tīrath*) venerated by Hindus. Cf. *Japjī* (10), *AG* p. 3. Bathing at such places is unnecessary. The purpose is fulfilled through the inward discipline of meditation on the divine Name.

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Then Guru Angad asked, "Babaji, for worldly people one watch devoted to the fear and adoration [of God] is sufficient, but what should the godly do ?"

"I have laid my hand upon you, son,"[883] replied Guru Baba Nanak ji. "Speak what is [in your heart]."

In accordance with the command of Guru Baba [Nanak] Guru Angad spoke. What did he utter ? [He uttered] a shalok.[884]

Supreme kings are they who have found the supreme [Lord],
Who through all eight watches dwell in confidence and love of the One.
Few there be [to whom has been vouchsafed] a vision of the infinite being [of the Almighty].
If one's deeds[885] are perfect [one hears the voice of] the perfect Guru, [of Him] whose utterance is perfection.
Nanak, if the Perfect One bestows [this perfection one's] weight is not reduced.[886]

Guru Angad ji then laid a request before Guru Baba [Nanak]. "Respected Babaji, you [have attained] perfect [understanding]. You [alone] are called the Perfected One
213b (*Pūrā purukh*). They who have found you, the Perfected [One], are themselves perfected masters. Throughout the [entire] eight watches [of the day and night] they are imbued with no spirit other than the spirit[887] of God and the divine Name of God.[888] Even though they are engaged in worldly activities they remain, like the lotus, unspotted.[889] Throughout the eight watches they remain free from worldly cares. They are absorbed in single-minded devotion,[887] [and for them] there is no dimming of the divine presence or of [its] beauty.

"In this world, however, few are to be found who are like this—very few. Associate with those who have received the grace of God and are perfected souls, [with those] who

[883]My grace is upon you.

[884]Guru Angad's *Vār Mājh* 17:2, *AG* p. 146.

[885]*karam*. The word may be intended in this context to possess the Arabic-derived meaning of '[divine] generosity' or 'grace'. The Sanskrit-derived *karma* appears, however, to be more likely, viz. the destiny determined by the quality of a man's previous actions.

[886]*ghaṭal nāhī toli*. The meaning is not clear.

[887]*raṅg* : lit. colour.

[888]They remember only God and nothing else.

[889]The commentator is using one of the conventional images of popular bhakti. Although the lotus may have its roots in mud and dirty water its flower will stand unspotted above this filth.

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voice the immutable utterance (*aṭalu bachan*). What is the immutable utterance which, when voiced, imparts salvation ? When you meet such a guru, [one who communicates the immutable utterance], you will lack nothing either in this world or the next. When you give
214a voice to [this immutable] utterance the soul finds salvation. He whom you meet and upon whom you bestow grace will lack nothing."

Guru Baba Nanak ji was filled with joy. Guru Angadji prostrated himself at the feet of Guru Baba [Nanak] ji. Guru Baba [Nanak] laid his hand upon his head and said, "Praise to the Guru !"

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [relating] another [discourse] held with Guru Angad.

ILLUSTRATION 55

214b [ANOTHER DISCOURSE WITH GURU ANGAD CONCERNING THE WAY OF SALVATION][890]

One day Guru Baba [Nanak] ji was sitting in Kartarpur, in the land of Punjab. Two and a half watches of the night had passed,[891] and one and a half watches of the night remained. Guru Angad put a request to Guru Baba [Nanak] ji.

"Respected Babaji, if you are willing [to hear it] I have a request to make."

"I should like to hear your request, son Angad," replied Baba [Nanak] ji. "Say [what it is]."

Guru Angad then put his request : "Respected Babaji, according to your instruction it is good to awaken at [the beginning of] the last watch of the night. If a person awakes [at that hour] then is there any benefit to be derived from that [particular] hour ? [If so], what constitutes the benefit ? If a person forces himself with determination to wake up and perform the service—if he wakes up and performs the service of meditation—then what reward

[890]Cf. *Mih JS* II. 395 ff. (*goṣṭ* 241). The passages quoted from scripture are the same in the *B40* and *Miharbān* versions of this discourse, but their respective introductions and commentaries are almost entirely different. Only a few scattered phrases correspond. The introductory passage giv closer to the standard *Miharbān* pattern of *goṣṭ* introduction in the extant version of the *Miharbān Janam-sākhī*. The extant *Miharbān* version has evidently been amended in order to give further emphasis to the point about early-morning bathing which the *goṣṭ* is seeking to establish.

[891]It was 1.30 a.m.

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does he earn for waking at that hour ?"

Passing into a rapture of praise Guru Baba [Nanak] ji
215a uttered [the following] shalok :[892]

During the fourth watch [of the night, in the early] morning [hour], a longing springs within [their] consciousness,
[And then they show] their affection for rivers, [proceeding thence] the divine Name within their hearts and on their lips.
There *amrit* is sprinkled, grace is showered [from above].
The body, assuming the golden hue [of radiant devotion], is assayed [like] gold [upon a touchstone];
And if the [divine] Goldsmith is pleased [with the assay] never again need it endure the fire. 1.

Then Guru Baba Nanakji said, "Son Angad, does a person wake up because someone *makes* him wake ? A person never wakes up because he has resolved to make himself wake. When God creates a soul upon whom He bestows His grace He implants within it a [latent] understanding[893] [which enables a man] to apprehend the divine Name. [Man] is endowed with this understanding and when he appears in the world he utilises this under-
215b standing. When the fourth watch of the night comes round love wells up in his heart. [This indicates to devout people that] it is time for them to awaken. [When they awake] their affections turn to water. [They ardently desire to bathe and so] they proceed to wherever water is available. Entering the water they bathe and inwardly repeat the Name of God.

"What is the reward of [observing this custom at] that hour ? Wherever the court of God [is to be found,[894] there] *amrit* is dispensed and there the Master bestows [His] grace. There is a [veritable] shower of *amrit* ! It is like the gold which the goldsmith assays on a touchstone. [If it is pure] it is not exposed to heat [which will spoil it]. It is fit for the treasury."

Guru Angad then put [another] query to Guru Baba [Nanak] ji. "This is the benefit [to be obtained] from the last watch of the night, but there are seven more watches.

[892] *Vār Mājh* 18:1 (lines 4—8) *AG* p. 146. The shalok is by Guru Angad, not by Guru Nanak. The *Purātan* janam sakhis set this shalok in Baba Nanak's journey to the south. *Pur JS, sākhī* 42, p. 79.

[893] *surati*.

[894] Either in the company of the devout (*satsang*) or within the devotee's own *man*.

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216a What should be done with them? What service of meditation and devotion is to be performed during [these hours]? How is this time to be used?"

[In reply] Guru Baba Nanak uttered [another] shalok in praise [of God].[895]

Shalok

During the seven [remaining] watches follow truth and goodness, dwelling in the company of the [spiritually] wise.

There [in their company] reflect upon what is sin and what is virtue; let the stock of falsehood dwindle away.

There the false are spurned, the noble held up to acclaim.

Futile is all that we say, O Nanak, [for all] pain and pleasure are in the Master's hand. 2.

Then Guru Baba Nanakji said, "Son Angad, you have put a good question. Let this quest for truth be pursued during the [other] seven watches [and not merely during the last watch of the night]. Be not slothful, even for an instant. If you do this then the [desired] results will inevitably follow. Devote the last watch of the night to meditation and then, son, follow the path of religious duty during the [other] seven watches. This is truth and goodness. If anyone is not satisfied with this let him go and discuss sin and virtue with those who are versed in the scriptures (*śāstra*), the Veda, the Puranas; and in [Sanskrit]
216b grammar. [Let him ask] why virtue is good and why one's [spiritual] capital dwindles through dealing in falsehood.

"Son Angad, there is no place for those who are false. Who are they, who are to be regarded as false? They who harbour deceit in their hearts and who utter falsehoods from their mouths. They who practise deceit and falsehood are false and for the false there is no place [in the sight of God]. Wherever they are caught they are cast away. For the false there is no place either in this world or the next. The false are cast out of the court of God and flung into the most hideous of hells.[896] But they who observe truth and [their] religious duty receive acclaim in the [divine] court and are retained in the [divine] presence. They are eternally steadfast. Apart from His Name anythi

[895] Guru Angad's *Vār Mājh* 18:1 (lines 9—12), *AG* p. 146.
[896] *ghor-narak*.

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is uttered is waste. Pain and pleasure are in the hand of
217a God. As the Lord chooses so He disposes. Let utterance proceed from your mouth in such a manner that your breath is not expended uselessly. Let [your mouth's] utterance be profitable [in the divine] court."[897]

Then Guru Angad said, "Babaji, I have one more question if you are willing [to hear it]."

"Son Angad," replied Guru Baba [Nanak] ji, "I am only too willing [to hear] anyone who asks [questions] concerning the utterance of the Name of God."

Guru Angadji then asked, "Respected Babaji, He who is called God—where does He live ? In what village does He dwell ? One should praise and glorify the Name of God, but who will show us the path to God ?"

Passing into a rapture of praise Guru Baba [Nanak] ji recited [the following] shalok :[898]

Throughout all eight watches[899] [of the day and night men direct their attention to] the eight regions [of the created world, neglecting] the ninth region [which is] the human body.

Let its depths be searched, [for] therein lie the Nine Treasures of the divine Name.

They to whom grace was given offered praises, O Nanak,
217b taking the [divine] Guru as their Pir.

Guru Baba [Nanak] ji then said, "Son Angad, the outspread world [contains] eight regions. The ninth region is the [Human] body. The unfolding [of which I speak] takes place within the region [which is] one's own body. The ninth [region] is exalted beyond [all] those eight regions. Through what quality [is it exalted] ? Within it are the Nine Treasures,[900] the Name of God. By searching they may be found. They who search the region [which is] the body are God's bhagats. But [the divine Name] is not to be found by searching [alone]. They upon whose foreheads was inscribed [the mark of] grace, because they were the recipients of grace met the Guru. When [any bhagat] met the Guru the lotus [of understanding] bloomed and to him was vouchsafed a vision of the manifest [presence of God]."

[897]Use your tongue for repeating the divine Name. Do not waste your breath on anything else, for all else is futile.

[898]Guru Angad's *Vār Mājh* 18:1 (lines 1—3), *AG* p. 146.

[899]The translation here follows the *AG* version which gives *punarī*. The *B40* reading, *khaṇḍī*, appears to be a mistake.

[900]See note 626.

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"O king !" cried Guru Angad, "you are the Guru and you are God ! None other can we behold !"

"My grace is upon you, [my] son," declared Guru Baba [Nanak] ji. "The world will worship your name after you
218a have gone. The divine Name is the essence (*jīu*) of God, and God dwells in the hearts of those who follow the Truth (*sādh*). They in whose hearts dwells the divine Name are the companions of God, and to their command God humbles Himself. To instruct the world in the divine Word, [in repeating] the divine Name, [in giving] charity, [in the practice of regular] bathing, [and in] the Truth- [this is your duty]."

Guru Angadji fell at the feet of Guru Baba [Nanak]. Filled with joy he cried, "Praise to the Guru ! Praise to the Guru ! Praise to the Guru ! Praise to the Guru ! Praise to the Guru !"

The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [which describes how] Guru Baba [Nanak] ji bathed.

218b **ILLUSTRATION 56**

219a [AN INJUNCTION TO RECITE *ĀRATĪ SOHILĀ*]

One day [while] Baba [Nanak] was bathing Angadji happened to notice that the whole of Baba [Nanak's] back was scratched. "Babaji, I have a question," said Angadji. "What is the meaning of these [scratches]."

"Son Angad," answered Baba [Nanak], "there is a certain Sikh [of mine], a shephered who grazes [his] goats in the wild scrub. As he walks [through the scrub] he recites *Āratī Sahilā*[901] with deep devotion. Now I have vowed that wherever *Āratī Sohilā* is recited there I shall be present."[902]

Baba [Nanak] then summoned the Sikh and with deep satisfaction [said to him], "Your devotion is to be commended, [my] son." Then he made this pronouncement: "Recite the *Āratī* when you are about to sleep, [my] son. The Sikh who goes to sleep after reciting [or] hearing the *Āratī* will find [mystical] union with the Guru."[903]

[901]See note 492.

[902]This presumably means that his presence with the devout Sikh necessitated a journey through thorny scrub and hence resulted in a scratched back. An alternative explanation could be that that the presence of scratches on Nanak's back is intended to indicate a mystical identity with the devout disciple, that scratches suffered by the Sikh also appear on the Master's back because of the latter's mystical presence with his disciple. This latter explanation would, however, be uncharacteristically sophisticated for this section of the janam-sakhi.

[903]With God.

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The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi concerning Baba [Nanak] and Mardana.

219b [THE MAGNIFICENCE OF BABA NANAK'S HYMNS]

One day Mardana was sitting singing *kirtan*. Baba [Nanak] asked [him], "How many hymns (*bānī*) have you learnt by heart, Mardana ?"

"I have memorised all that [you] have composed," he replied.

In the meantime there had appeared a large caravan [consisting of] a long string of camels. "Mardana, ask the master of this caravan to show you what he is carrying in [his bags]," said Baba [Nanak].

Mardana asked [him] and the caravan master replied, "In these [bags] are volumes[904] cantaining the hymns of Sri Guru Baba Nanak ji."

"Wondrous is thy power !" cried Mardana. "It is beyond comprehending !"

[Baba Nanak] then commanded Mardana, "Read something aloud from these hymns, Mardana."

"Very well," he answered, but when he looked [at the
220a hymns] he was overcome with awe. "Wondrous is thy power ! he exclaimed.

"What is it, Mardana ?" asked Baba [Nanak]. "Read something."

"Eye has not seen nor ear heard [such utterances] !" he replied. "These hymns are surpassing wonderful !"

Then Mardana besought [Baba Nanak], with palms joined [in supplication]. "Lord, when will these hymns be revealed ?"

"Mardana, "replied [Baba Nanak], "they who love and adore me, and who are to be endowed with my body and my frame—from their mouths will issue [these hymns].[905]

Guru Angad and Mardana prostrated themselves.[906] The sakhi is finished. Another sakhi follows, a sakhi [describing] the death [of Baba Nanak].

[904] *pothiān granth.*

[905] The reference is to the four Gurus who immediately su[illegible]nak and whose compositions were included by Guru Arjan in th[illegible] (the Adi Granth.)

[906] *mathā tekiā* : they touched the ground with their foreheads.

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220b

ILLUSTRATION 57

221a

[THE DEATH OF BABA NANAK][907]

Baba [Nanak] spent twelve [years] wandering as an

[907]This lengthy final sakhi can be divided into ten distinct episodes :

1. Kamala and the yogis : the annunciation of Baba Nanak's imminent death (folios 221a-222a).
2. Sidharan makes preparations for the obsequies (222a-224a).
3. The *chaudharīs* and *muqadams* prepare the funeral pyre (224a-b).
4. Mata Choni prepares for a *śrādh* ceremony (224b-225a).
5. Sidharan intercedes on behalf of his *Kuram* (225a-226a).
6. Sidharan prepares for the obsequies and the *chaudharīs* build the funeral pyre (repetition of 2 and 3). Baba Nanak passes away (226a-227a).
7. Lakhmi Das and Siri Chand protest (227a-228a).
8. Sidharan protests (228a-b).
9. The Hindus and Muslims quarrel (228b-229a)
10. Baba Nanak ascends bodily to heaven (229a-230a)

The series is preceded by a brief two-sentence summary of Baba Nanak's life, (221a), and followed by a confession of faith and a concluding exhortation from the compiler.

It is clear that this is a composite sakhi, and it seems probable that *B40* compiler was himself responsible for its construction. Had he copied it in its entirety from a single source he could hardly have overlooked the more obvious in consistencies which it contains. One such inconsistency concerns the physical presence of Baba Nanak's body. It vanishes on the way to the burning-ground (229a); it reappears alive on the pyre (229a); It is evidently consumed by fire (229a); but soon after appears again on the pyre (229b). Finally it ascends to heaven (229b).

The heterogeneous quality of this *B40* sakhi can also be illustrated by means of a comparison with other janam-sakhi versions of the death of Nanak. The *Ādi Sākhīs*, which of all other collections is the closest to *B40*, offers a different but equally confused selection. It begins with a version of 7, follows this with a different version of 7, and then takes up 5. In the *Ādi Sākhīs* version of episode 5 the petitioner begins and ends as Sidharan (as in *B40*) but in between he is identified as Bhagirath. A portion of 8 is linked with 5 by the *Ādi Sākhīs* compiler and the remainder is treated separately, with Mardana replacing Sidharan as complainant. There are hints of episode 9 and the *Ādi Sākhīs* composite sakhi is then drawn to an abrupt end. *AS*, pp. 97-100.

Episodes 1 and 2, both of them omitted by the *Ādi Sākhīs*, are to be found in *Bālā MS Recension B*, in words almost identical to those of the *B40* version (Cambridge University Library MS Add. 921, ff. 197a-98b) and abbreviated versions of 1, 7 and 10 appear in the *Mahimā Prakāś Vāratak*. *SLTGN* (*Eng*), pp. 85-87. The *Bālā* manuscript also includes versions of 3, 4, 7 and 9, but language, sequence, content of the individual sub-sakhis, and the date of death are all different. This addition to the *Bālā* tradition has obviously been taken from the lost *Miharbān Janam-sākhī*.

Resemblances to the *Purātan* view are few. Episodes 7 and 9 appear in the *Purātan* janam-sakhis, but in a form which differs from both the *Miharbān*/*Bālā* version. Together with the *Ādi Sākhīs* *B40* and t[illegible] janam-sakhis do, however, agree on the date of the Guru's death.

(Contd. on next page)

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ascetic.[908] He was married at the age of twelve and he reigned for fortyfive years in [his] village.[909]

In front of Baba Nanak's audience-chamber (*darbār*) there was a pipal tree. Baba [Nanak] used to lay a string-bed[910] under it and sit on the bed in the shade. In the house of Guru Baba Nanak there was a servant who was known by the name of Baba Kamala. [One day] Baba [Nanak] summoned [him]. "Son Kamala," [he called].

"What do you want, sir ?" asked Kamala.

"Go out to the *belā*,[911] son, and bring grass," said Baba [Nanak]. "The horses and buffaloes are hungry."

Taking a sickle Kamala went out to the *belā*. When [he arrived there] he saw three men who looked like master yogis (*jogīsar*) sitting in the *belā*. The yogis called Kamala and he went [to them].

221b "Is this the village of Baba Nanak ?" asked the yogis.

"[Yes] sir, this is [his] village," answered Kamala.

They gave him a pinch of ashes[912] [and said], "Take this message to Baba Nanak."

"I do not have permission [to leave my work]," replied Kamala. "I shall return when I have gathered grass."

One of [the yogis] arose, took the sickle from Kamala's hand, cut a handful of grass, and scattered it. [Immediately] a heap of grass formed. "Bundle up as much grass as you can carry and pick it up," said the yogi. Kamala bundled up a big load and the yogi, picking it up [for him], placed

(Contd...)

As it stands the *B40* sakhi is clumsily constructed. If, however, episodes 4, 5, 6 and 8 are removed the remainder constitutes a narrative of considerable power. In episode 10 it attains a quality of graphic expression unequalled in the entire range of janam-sakhi material.

[908] Cf. folio 33a. See note 134.

[909] The village of Kartarpur. The details given in the opening sentences of this sakhi, together with the dates of birth and death recorded on folios 1a and 230a, elicit the following chronology :

1469 Birth of Nanak.
1481 Nanak's marriage; beginning of travels.
1493 End of travels; beginning of the Kartarpur period.
1538 Death of Nanak.

This makes no provision for the period in Sultanpur and claims an impossibly early date for the beginning of the travel period.

[910] *mañjī*. In this context it implies a seat of spiritual authority.

[911] The term *belā* is used for jungle or uncultivated land near human habitation, as opposed to *ghor* which is located far from any settled area. Portions of a *belā* may be designated *rakh* by a village panchayat, i.e. lan nmon grazing.

[912] *bibhūt, vibhūtī* : ashes of burnt cow-dung used by yogis for smearing their bodies, allegedly in imitation of Siva.

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it on his head. Having got it up Kamala carried it off.

[Back in the village] Baba Nanak had laid the string-bed under the pipal tree and was sitting on it. "You have returned very quickly with the grass," he said. "Have you
222a taken someone else's grass ? If it is someone else's grass do not give it to my horses."

"I have not brought [another's] grass, Father," replied Kamala. "I have brought a message." Kamala took out the pinch of ashes and placed it in Baba [Nanak's] hand.

"You did well to bring the grass quickly," said Baba Guru Nanak, "and you also brought the message, you also brought the message, you also brought the message." Three times Baba [Nanak] said [this and then repeated], "You did well."

Then Baba [Nanak] said, "You have brought me the message, Kamala. [Now] go and bring Sidhâran [here]. Sidharan has gone off with his family at [someone's] invitation and is very busy. Go and tell [him] that Baba [Nanak] calls. [Tell him to] come quickly, bringing two long stretcher-poles[913] and a hank of twine".[914]

Sidharan was one of Baba [Nanak's] Sikhs. If ever
222b Baba [Nanak] went [that way] he would dine at his house. Other people would press him [to accept an invitation], but he would take no one else's food. Only at Sidharan's house [would he eat]. Baba [Nanak] used to wear two length's of cloth (*chādar*), one over the upper [part of his body] and the other over the lower. Sidharan had arranged for them to be woven. He had ordered four chaddars of fine cloth to be woven. Two he kept [ready] washed, and [the other] two Baba [Nanak] used to wear. Sidharan used to wash them himself with his own hands.

[913] *bāhī* : the poles used for the sides of a string bed.

Baba Nanak is here making preparations for his own funeral. The two poles are intended for the corpse-lifter.

[914] *vāṇ* : coarse, thin rope made from *Muñj* (rush). In the course of the remainder of the sakhi the narrator provides an interesting if disjointed description of a seventeenth-century Sikh funeral rite. The description may be compared with the observations recorded in the following articles : "Manner in which the Funeral Service is Performed", section in a memorandum *The Rites and Ceremonies of the Sikhs and the Sikh Sects*, written in 1844 by Major R.Leech. National Archives of India, For. Secret. Dec. 20, 1845, 144. Reproduced in the *Gurduārā Gazette*, August 1969, English section. pp. 27-29.
Ceremonies of the High-caste Hindus of the Panjab" in *PNQ* III. 35 (August 1886), pp. 183-84. See also *Ā'īn* III. 321-24.

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On the eighth day[915] Kamala went to summon Sidharan. [Before he left] Baba [Nanak] asked [him], "What will you say when you go [to Sidharan] ?"

"I shall speak as you command," replied Kamala.

"If he will not come," said Baba [Nanak], "tell him that Baba [Nanak] is shivering and then he will come quickly."

Kamala went to Sidharan who asked, "Why have you come ?"

"Go quickly," [answered Kamala]. "Take two long
223a stretcher poles and a hank of twine and go."

"I shall go after I have had my meal," said Sidharan.

"I have no instruction [about your meal]," answered Kamala. "Eat [it]."

Sidharan ate his meal and departed. When he reached Baba [Nanak] he prostrated himself. Baba [Nanak] greeted [him with the salutation] "Kartar Kartar,[916] "[to which] Sidharan responded, "Sat Kartar".[917]

Sidharan [then] said, "Master,[918] you have summoned [me] with great urgency."

"Do you know why I have summoned you ?" asked Baba [Nanak].

"Kamala came to me bearing your instructions to proceed to [your] presence."[919]

"Come, son Sidharan," said Baba [Nanak]. "Let us go to the *belā*."

Baba [Nanak] and Sidharan went out to the *belā* where Baba [Nanak] had a field of eight *bighās* [920]

[915]This must refer to the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Asu, or Asvin (*asū vadi 8*). A little later we are informed that the wife of Baba Nanak was at this time preparing for a *śrādh* ceremony, a rite which is performed during the dark half of Asu. See Folio 219b and Note 928. Within a lunar month the dark half, (or period of the waning moon) precedes the light half (the period of the waxing moon).

[916]*kartār kartār* : lit. 'Creator, Creator'; 'Hail to the Creator !' or 'The blessings of God !' The expression obviously parallels the common greeting *rām rām*.

[917]*sati kartār* : 'True is the Creator'. These two forms of salutation were presumably current during the period when the janam-sakhi was first recorded.

[918]*tapā* : an ascetic; one who practises *tapasyā* (self-mortification) to achieve religious merit or salvation.

[919]*dargāh* : a royal court, or hall of audience. When used with reference to a saint it normally designates his tomb or shrine. Here it refers to the 'court' maintained by Baba Nanak in Kartarpur, i.e. the assembly of his disci[illegible]

[920]*bighā* : a unit of square measurement, 60x60 *gaz*. As th[illegible]ength so correspondingly the *bighā* varied in size, and several different *bīghās* were current during the Janam-sakhi period. The *bīghā-i ilāhī* of Akbar, consisting

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He proceeded to [his] field and inspected its four corners. Having scanned the field he looked down towards the river.

223b To Baba [Nanak].....a pond.....was delighted.[921] "Do you know what place this is, son Sidharan ?" asked Baba [Nanak]. "It is at this place, son, that my [cremation] wood [will be] immersed.[922] Do not tell anyone [this]."

Baba [Nanak] and Sidharan [then] returned home and Baba [Nanak] said, "Bring the clean chaddars, son Sidharan."

"Take off [the two which you are wearing and] give [them to me]," he replied.

Baba [Nanak] removed the dirty chaddars gave [them to Sidharan, and] put on [clean] white *chaddars*. Sidharan went to wash the dirty *chaddars* [and later] brought them back well laundered.

Baba [Nanak then] said, "Son Sidharan, have the place where I sleep and where I repeat [the Name of God] well plastered."[923]

Sidharan went and prepared the house thoroughly. He [then] returned and prostrated himself before Baba [Nanak].

"Have you prepared the house, [my] son ?" asked Baba [Nanak].

"Master," replied Sidharan, "it would be better if you [were to go and] see whether you approve."

224a Baba [Nanak] went and inspected the house, and was pleased [with it].

"Sidharan," he said, "bring the articles needed for my

of sixty square *gaz-i ilāhī*, was equal to approximately three-fifths of an acre. This was followed, though never completely displaced, by the *bīghā-i daftarī* of Shahjahan, equivalent two-thirds of the *bīghā-i ilāhī*, or two fifths of an acre. In addition to these standard measurements unofficial local *bīghās* were used (the *kachhā bīghā*). In some areas the *kachhā bīghā* was one-third of the *bīghā-i ilāhī*, and elswhere one quarter of it. *Ā'īn* II.62. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* (London, 1963), pp. 301, 354-55, 362-66. H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* (London, 1855), p. 85. B. N. Goswamy and J. S. Grewal, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar* (Simla, 1967), pp. 53, 72-73. The relatively unsophisticated backgrounds of the janam-sakhi narrators and compilers suggest that in this particular context *bīghā* will mean a local *kachhā bīghā*, and consequently a measurement of limited but indeterminate dimensions. It is, however, possible that the narrator of this episode had in mind a *bīghā-i daftarī*, the standard measure during the period when this particular sakhi evolved. Goswamy and Grewal, op. cit., p. 72, n. 26.

[921]The last line of folio 223a is missing.

[922]The reference is to the custom of taking two or three embers from a funeral pyre and casting them into some nearby stream.

[923]The purificatory rite of plastering with cow-dung.

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departure. Spread the sacred grass[924] and the blanket on the ground without wasting any time".

[Then] Babā [Nanak] said, "Go and summon the muqadams[925] and the chaudharis."[926] He added, "What will you say when you go [to them] ?"

"I shall speak as you command," answered Sidharan.

"Go and say that I have something to discuss with them [and tell them to] come at once."

Having received [these] instructions Sidharan departed. The chaudharis obeyed the summons [and both] the chaudharis and the muqadams came and prostrated themselves at Baba [Nanak's] feet.

"Do you know why you have been called ?" asked Baba [Nanak].

"Master, please tell [us]", replied the chaudharis.

[924] *kuśā* : *Poa cynosuroides*, the sacred grass which is spread out when a death is imminent, and upon which the dying man then lies. It is also used by Brahmans in worship.

[925] *muqaddam* : lit. 'one who goes first'. Before the time of Nanak the term might designate either a prominent man or, specifically, the headman of a village. During the Mughal period it was generally restricted to the latter, although it might also be applied to the leader of a caste group. The sense intended by the janam-sakhi narrator is clearly that of village headman. In this capacity a *muqaddam* was vested with official status. He was entrusted with local revenue collection and the disbursement of *taqāvī* loans to cultivators; and was responsible for the investigation and punishment of crimes committed within the village area. In return he received either 2½ Percent of the assessed land attached to the village, or alternatively 2½ Percent of the revenue. A village might have more than one *muqaddam*. Irfan Habib, op. cit., pp. 129-34. H. H. Wilson, op. cit., p. 351. Goswamy and Grewal, op. cit., pp. 141-44. The term was applied only to non-Muslims. J.S. Grewal, *Guru Nanak in History* (Chandigarh, 1969), p. 158.

[926] The term *chaudharī* was used during the Mughal period to designate a functionary equivalent or superior to a *muqaddam*. Like the *muqaddam* the *chaudharī* was primarily responsible for revenue collection and loan disbursement, and if his area was restricted to a single village he corresponded in actual practice to the *muqaddam*. The *chaudharī* differed from the *muqaddam* in that his area of responsibility was commonly more extensive than a single village. It might embrace a *pargana* (a group of villages) or a *tappā* (an area smaller than a *pargana*, generally including a small town and its surrounding villages). In this more exalted role of *chaudharī* normally worked through his subordinate *muqaddams*. A *chaudharī* would invariably be a *zamīndār*, normally the wealthiest of his area. Irfan Habib, op. cit., pp. 291-94. Goswamy and Grewal, op. cit., pp. 155-56. W.H. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 69. Although the janam-sakhi nar ns to imply a distinction between *muqaddams* and *chaudharīs* the status of the latter is not made clear. Their function in the janam-sakhi context is to represent the homage of the highest order of local society to the dying Guru.

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224b Filled with grace Baba [Nanak] said [to them], "God has summoned me to His court. I have assembled all the articles required for the journey [and now].I am departing."

"Sir, give us any command which you may have for us," said the chaudharis and muqadams.

"This is my command to you," replied Baba [Nanak], "that you prepare a funeral pyre.[927] Everything else is ready."

"There is plenty of wood [available], "said the chaudharis [and they proceeded to] build a heap of it.

In the meantime Mata Choni, [the Guru's wife], had heard that the Master was about to depart. She came, and calling Sidharan, [asked him], "What is this that the Master is saying, Sidharan ?"

"The Master is about to set out on the great journey, Mataji."

"Why is going like this ?" asked Mata [Choni]. "The Master told me that a *śrādh*[928] is to be observed. I have pounded the *dāl*[929] and *baṛī*[930] so that the *śrādh* can be
225a celebrated on the ninth day."

"What is Mata saying, Sidharan ?" asked Baba [Nanak].

"Sir," he replied, "she says, 'He had me prepare what was needed for a *śrādh*. Why [then] is the Master departing ?"

"What your Mother says is correct," said Baba [Nanak], "but I am going to live for fifteen more days."[931]

[927]*lakarīā*(n) *sāmigarī* : lit. 'the wood equipage'; the wood required for the funeral pyre.

[928]A Hindu ceremony performed annually on behalf of deceased forbears, the purpose being to assist their passage to Paradise or to whatever destination has been determined by their *karma*. The actual date for any particular relative is fixed in consultation with a Brahman astrologer, but will always be within the dark half of the lunar month of Asu (Asvin). The rite includes an offering of food to assembled relatives and to Brahmans who have been invited to participyte. For Abu al-Fazl's description of the ceremony see *Ā,īn* III.284.

[929]Lentils; pulse.

[930]Small lumps of fried pulse used as seasoning.

[931]According to the *B40* janam-sakhi Baba Nanak died on the tenth day of the light half of the month of Asu. (See below, folio 230a.) The narrator's refrence to "fifteen more days" is evidently intended to suggest that Nanak had originally expected to die on the tenth day of the *dark* half of the month, i.e. fifteen days earlier. This accords with the reference to "the eighth day" on folio 222b. The pointed reference to a change of date may perhaps derive from the janam sakhi controversy concerning the date of Nanak's death. The tenth day of the dark half of Asu, S. 1596, is one of the three contending claims. *GNS.*

Although the *B40* compiler gives the year as S. 1595 it is possible that he (or, more accurately, his source) has the dark half dating in mind when introducing a delay of fifteen days.

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"That is good," answered Sidharan.

"Leave [me] for about an hour, Sidharan," commanded Baba [Nanak]. "Go, bring the curd and milk [which has been prepared] for the *srādh*." [And then] Baba [Nanak] said, "If the Guru[932] so wills I shall visit your home on the eighth day[933] to bid farewell." Sidharan prostrated himself and departed. Guru Baba [Nanak] called [after him], "I shall come later."

On the eighth day he went to Sidharan's house. He stayed for two days at Sidharan's house[934] and then said, "Sidharan, bring [all] who are in your house and let them
225b prostrate themselves so that I may bid farewell." Sidharan called his family[935] and had them prostrate themselves before Guru Baba [Nanak]. Baba [Nanak then] bade farewell [and departed].

Baba [Nanak] has bidden Sidharan farewell, [but when he had gone] one *kos* [Sidharan] set out to follow him. Sidharan had that day developed a desire to lay a request [before him]. Meanwhile Baba [Nanak] had stopped again [and when Sidharan caught up with him] he asked, "Do you want to say something, Sidharan ?"

"Sir, if you are willing [to listen] then I do want to say [something]."

"I am willing [to listen]," said Baba [Nanak]. "What is [your] request ?"

"If it please you, sir, my *kuṛam*[936] is imprisoned in Agra," said Sidharan. "Let him be set free."

"Your *kuṛam* will be released," replied Baba [Nanak, but] he will say that the Emperor has set him free. There will be no credit to *your* name. [He will not say], 'I was set free [because of] Sidharan.' Baba [Nanak] continued, "[But] I am willing [to listen so] what is [your] request ?"

Sidharan [again] said, "If it please you let my *kuṛam* be set free."

226a "Sidharan," answered Baba [Nanak], "your *kuṛam* will be released." Baba [Nanak] went on : "Write down this

[932]God.

[933]The eighth day of the light half of Asu. The *Ādi Sākhīs*' amended version of this promise is directed to Mardana, not to Sidharan. *AS*, p. 100.

[934]From the eighth to the tenth day of the light half of Asu, i.e. until the day of his death as recorded in this janam-sakhi.

[935]*āpṇe ādmī* : lit. 'his men'. This could include servants a rs of the family.

[936]The relationship between the fathers of a married couple. Whenever a marriage takes place the fathers of the bride and groom thereby become *kuram*.

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[present] hour and portion [of the day as proof of the miracle which has been performed at your intercession]. Your *kuṛam* has [just] been released. [Now] ask for something else."

"For what else should I ask, sir?" replied Sidharan. "My *kuṛam* has been released."

"Come to my house," said Baba [Nanak].

Sidharan came on the day of the *srādh* bringing milk and curd. The Brahmans were fed and so the *srādh* was celebrated.

"Plaster my house, Sidharan," said Baba [Nanak]. "Do it well."

"You have commanded, sir, and so I [go to] plaster your house," answered Sidharan.

He plastered [the house] and then returned to prostrat himself. Baba [Nanak then] said, "Bring my two clean chaddars, son Sidharan. Bring two well-washed chaddars."

[When this had been done] Baba [Nanak] said, "Son
226b Sidharan, [call][937] the chaudharis and muqadams." [When they arrived] Baba [Nanak] said, "You are my Sikhs and you are also chaudharis. Obey a command of mine [which I am about to give]."

"Sir, give us whatever command is to be given," answered the chaudharis.

"We are under the command of God," said Baba [Nanak]. "I had asked to live for fifteen days more and so I lived on [for that period]. Now stack the wood in the *belā* [for my funeral pyre]. Obey this command immediately."

"Sir," said the chaudharis, "Ours will be a [sorry] condition when you depart."

"You have been exalted, [for] God has made His abode [within] you," replied Baba [Nanak].

The chaudharis said no more. They took the wood and proceeded to the *belā*. Baba [Nanak] called [after] them, "Stack the wood quickly and return..... Stacking the wood in the *belā*....."[937]

227a "[When] you take me there [to the funeral pyre] set four guards over my [body]. Station [them] armed on the four sides [of the pyre]. Have no fear." Guru Baba [Nanak then] said, "I am going to lie down." Having said this he lay down and passed away.[938]

Baba [Nanak's] sons had gone hunting [and while] out

[937]The last line of folio 226 is missing and the outer corner of the folio has been broken.

[938]*samāi gatā*: '[his spirit] merged in [the Divine Spirit].'

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there they heard that Nanak the Master had died. They galloped [in] from that place [on their] horses and when they arrived they saw that Baba [Nanak] had [indeed] died. "For the sake of God the Creator," they pleaded, "[we] beseech you to die only after you have spoken [to us] for four *ghaṛīs*.[939]

Baba [Nanak] the Creator sat up. "Speak !" he said. "What do you [want to] say ? You asked for four *ghaṛīs*. Had you asked for four watches[940] then I should have lived
227b for four watches [more]. If for four days, for four months, for four years-if you had asked for four aeons (*yuga*) then I should have lived for four aeons. Speak ! Say what you [want to] say."

Siri Chand spoke. "You have bestowed [your] royal authority upon an ignorant Khatri.[941] What will happen to us ?"

"It was not I who bestowed [authority upon him]," replied Baba [Nanak]. "It was inscribed upon his forehead. [God] bestowed [it]."

"We used to ride upon a mares and wear fine clothes," said Siri Chand, "We used to receive [favours] from many sources and from many sources we used to obtain food. Now what shall we do ?"

"You will have even finer clothes than those you have had in the past," answered Baba [Nanak]. "You will ride upon Iraqi mares and you will eat good food. Entertain no anxiety in your mind. In the future there will be a wide dispersion of the Guru's teachings [and so of your fame and honour]. Whatever you ask to eat you will receive and you will be accorded [great] respect."

"Deliver us into someone's care,"[942] said Siri Chand.

228a "I deliver you to the One who is perfect in all things." replied Baba [Nanak]. "To whom else should I entrust you. I entrust you to Him who created the world. [Even] the dogs which belong to gurus and pirs eat [as much as they want]—and you are the *sons* [of the Guru]. After I [die]," added Baba [Nanak], "do not perform the [customary] ceremonies."

At this the chaudharis said, "Sir, they will [have to] live

[939]*ghaṛī* : twenty-four minutes. Four periods of twenty-four minutes.

[940]Twelve hours.

[941]Guru Angad.

[942]The reference is to the common custom whereby a dying person commends his children (regardless of age) to someone's care, normally that of an elder brother if one is surviving.

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in the world [and people] will speak ill of them [if they do not perform the ceremonies]."

"Do as you please," answered Baba [Nanak], "but do not weep [and wail]."

Having made these pronouncements Baba [Nanak] died [again], Siri Chand, Lakhmi Das, and the chaudharis removed their turbans, [but] Sidharan, coming from behind, threw his turban on the ground and cried, "I neither raised a family nor let myself take up [gainful] employment. I laid waste my home [in order that I might serve him] and now my service has been rendered fruitless. I have gained nothing."

228b Baba [Nanak] sat up again. "Call him," he said, "and ask whether I am to be blamed or he." Sidharan was summoned and Baba [Nanak] said, "Sidharan, you will not meet me in heaven if you tell a lie. I said, 'Sidharan, I am willing [to listen]. What is [your] request ?' And for what did you ask ?"

"Sir, I asked that my *kuṛam* who was imprisoned in Agra might be set free."

Thrice Baba [Nanak had] said "I am willing [to listen]. What is [your] request ?" And thrice [he had replied] "Let [my] *kuṛam* be set free." Baba [Nanak] said, "Fo what do you want to ask now ? [Why are you] calling me [in this manner] ?" Baba [Nanak then] died once again.

They picked up Baba [Nanak's funeral] equipment and set off [towards the *belā*]. Muslims,[943] however, stopped them and began to argue with the Hindus[944] [In the meantime] a chaudhari had met Baba [Nanak] proceeding along the road. When this chaudhari arrived [at the *belā*] he found
229a that there was a great uproar. "Why this fuss ?" he asked. When they told him [what had happened] he assured them that he had seen Baba [Nanak] riding in a palanquin at a place [further along the road].

[This prompted them] to remove the [winding-] sheet, whereupon they discovered that there was nothing in it ! Then all were dumbfounded and began to return, each to his own home. [Some of them] took up Baba [Nanak's] chaddars and other articles, and carrying them [to the site of the funeral pyre] they laid them down. And what should they discover there[945] but Baba [Nanak] sitting

[943]*turkī*.

[944]Their dispute presumably concerns the correct method of disp Nanak's corpse. Cf. *Pur JS*, p. 114. *GNSR*, pp. 50-51.

[945]This is a free translation of the word *janu*, lit. 'as it were' or 'as one might say'.

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cross-logged on the funeral pyre !

When the fire had subsided the congregation of Sikhs returned home. Four armed watchmen were on guard. Night fell and the four guards were sitting on the four sides [of the pyre]. When half the night had passed the musk censer and many [other] articles [began to] emit a
229b sweet aroma. A divine fragrance hung in the air and there reverberated the unearthly cadence of falling waters, [with] the strains of all manner of musical instrument. Baba [Nanak] God [Himself]—arose from his cross-legged posture, arrayed in garments of fine cloth and bearing a *ṭikkā*[946] on his forehead. The watchmen started up, joined their palms [in reverent terror], and fell at his feet. A sign was given to them that they should arise and at that moment a wind began to blow. The hair of Baba [Nanak's] beard shimmered as it waved [in the breeze]. For four hours Guru Baba [Nanak] remained sitting there; for four hours the music resounded and the fragrance issued forth. Then Guru Baba [Nanak] mounted [aloft],[947] proceeded to the court [of God, and there] took his seat.

When day dawned the watchmen returned home. The people [from the village] set out [for the place of burning to gather Baba Nanak's remains], for none knew that of the wonder that had been performed When they set out [to go] there Mata Choni said, "Sidharan [my] son, keep
230a one of the Master's teeth, for I want to wear it as an amulet around my neck.[948]

They took there the articles required for [the ceremonies of] the fourth [day following decease, and] when they reached the place of burning they sprinkled it with milk.[949] When, however, they looked in the [remnants of the] funeral pyre [they found] no remains [from Baba Nanak's body]. Through all the charred wood they searched, [through all of] the funeral pyre, but there were no remains. They took

[946]See note 35. A *ṭikkā* may be applied as part of an investiture ceremony, the occasion in this instance being that of Baba Nanak's ascent to unconfined divinity.

[947]The text implies that he mounted a conveyance of some kind, but does not indicate what manner of conveyance the narrator had in mind.

[948]A fragment of a corpse may be worn as amulet in the belief that it will impart to the wearer the qualities and the powers of the deceased. W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* (London, 1896), vol. ii, p. 38.

[949]On the fourth day following a cremation the relatives of the deceased return to collect the *phul* (lit. 'flowers', charred remnants of the corpse ter the burning). These are sprinkled with milk and subsequel... ...o a sacred river where they are scattered on the flowing water. Punjabi Hindus normally visit Hardwar for this purpose.

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the charred wood to the river and cast it on the flowing water.[950] All began to lament, [for they thought that everything must have been consumed by the fire]. None knew that a wonder had been performed [and that in fact *nothing* had been consumed].

During the rainy season, on the tenth day of the light half of [the month of] Asu [in the year] Samvat 1595,[951] Baba Nanak passed away in Kartarpur. The sakhi is finished! May [the scribe's] errors be pardoned. The Guru's words are known to the Guru alone.

[This janam-] sakhi was completed on Friday, the third day of the light half of [the month of] Bhadon, Samvat
230b 1790.[952] It was written by one who is humble, contemptible, degraded,[953] the slave and servant of the sangat; and it offers testimony to the humble submission of Daia Ram Abrol.[954] The sangat is the Court of the Supreme Guru and speaks as His voice.[955] In your midst abides the Supreme Guru and if any favour be asked of you, [the sangat], it can be granted. The greatest of all gifts and favours is the divine Name with the joy which it imparts, and it is by your benevolence that the Guru dwells in our remembrance. So rejoice! Use your tongues and say 'Praise to the Guru!' Again, with one accord, repeat 'Praise to the Guru!' With spirit raptured again repeat 'Praise to the Guru!' and your voice will reach to Heaven.[956] Say [and repeat] 'Praise to the Guru!'

Whoever utters [and repeats] 'Praise to the Guru!' shall
231a obtain as his reward a revelation [of God]. He shall obtain salvation. For him the cycle of birth and death shall cease. They who are beloved of the Lord Guru, they upon whom the Lord Guru has mercy, they who are accepted by the Lord Guru, they who are blessed by the Lord Guru, they who dwell in the court [of God], they who do wondrous good [to others], they who love Thy true Word—[with radiance] their faces shine. They who look upon one who knows the divine Word will call to remembrance the Guru. They

[950] See note 922.

[951] *sammat 1595...asū sudī 10*, corresponding to Thursday, 3rd October, A.D. 1538.

[952] *sammat 1790 mitī bhādho sudī 3*, corresponding to Friday, 31st August, A.D. 1733.

[953] *fakīr hakīr pur-taksīr*.

[954] The copyist thus identifies himself. The note subsequently added to folio 84b further identifies him as 'the son of Dasvandhi'. See Introduction, p. 20. The name 'Daia' is usually spelt 'Daya'.

[955] *jabān* (*zabān*): lit. 'tongue'.

[956] *sach khaṇḍ*: 'the Abode of Truth'; the climax of the soul's ascent to God; heaven. *GNSR*, p. 224.

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who have found [the divine Word] are my friends, for through them my understanding is purged of error.

Let this testify to the humble submission of Bhai Sangu Mal[997] who has sought [the Guru's] aid and must assuredly receive it. Rejoice! Stretch forth Thy hand to this slave of Nanak and hold him ever in Thy keeping.

Praise to the Guru! Glory be to the Guru, to the mighty Maker and Doer of all things, Baba Nanakji!

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[997] See Introduction, p. 20 and note 376.

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227a (arabic) BY THE GRACE OF GOD, THE TRUE GURU

The table of contents of the volume is recorded [below][958] :

1. The first sakhi [1a]
2. A discourse held with the teacher [2b]
7. [Baba Nanak] went to graze the buffaloes [7a]
9. [Baba Nanak] slept under a tree [9a]
15. A discourse held with the physician [14b]
17. A sakhi set in Sultanpur [14b]
28. Departure for the wilderness [24b]
33. Discourse with Mother and Father [28a]
37. A discourse held with Shah Abdul Rahman [32a]
40. A sakhi [describing an encounter] with a monster [35a]
41. A sakhi [describing an encounter] with Bhola the Robber [36a]
44. A sakhi [describing an encounter] with Kaliyug [39a]
48. A sakhi [relating a discourse] with a Sikh [43a]

227b (arabic)

51. A sakhi concerning the Mecca mosque [where a discourse] was held with a mullah [46b]
53. A discourse with Shah Rukandi [48a]
56. A discourse with Rattan Haji [51a]
57. A discourse with Sheikh Braham[959] [52b]
66. Baba [Nanak] visited Saidpur Saroe [61b]
74. A sakhi [relating a discourse] held with a karori [70a]
76. Baba [Nanak] commenced a course of austerities [72a]
83. Baba [Nanak] ji visited the land ruled by women [78a]
86. A discourse held with the Siddhs [81a]
94. Guru Angad [is] made a Sikh [89a]
100. A sakhi concerning Mula the Khatri [95a]
102. Baba [Nanak] commenced a course of austerities [97b]
106. Baba [Nanak] commenced a devotional discipline (*sevā*) [101a]
111. A sakhi [relating a discourse] with Ajitta Randhava [106a]
117. Baba [Nanak] ji visited Achal [112a]

228a (arabic)

123. The voice [of God] came to Baba [Nanak] ji [118b]
127. Baba [Nanak] ji visited the Land of Unbelievers [122b]
133. Baba [Nanak] ji visited Mecca [128a]
136. A discourse with Bhagat Kabir [131a]

[958] The folio numbers given in the left margin are the original Gurmukhi numbers as recorded in the *tatkarā* (table of contents) by the *B40* copyist. The ding Arabic numbers (which do not appear in the *tatkarā*) are given at the end of each entry. For a description of the two systems of pagination see Introduction, pp. 4-6.

[959] This entry has been recorded twice in the *tatkarā*.

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138. A discourse with Raja Sivanabh [133b]
154. Baba [Nanak] ji visited Kabul [149b]
156. Baba [Nanak] ji visited the land of Bhutant [151a]
158. Baba [Nanak] ji visited a [certain] country [153a]
159. Baba [Nanak] ji visited Kashmir [154b]
163. Baba [Nanak] ji visited the Land of the Pathans [158b]
171. Baba [Nanak] ji visited another country [166b]
174. Baba [Nanak] ji visited the country of another raja [169a]
175. Baba [Nanak] ji visited another country [170a]
177. A sakhi [relating a discourse] held with Ajitta Randhava [172a]
181. Baba [Nanak] ji visited Achal [176a]
228b (arabic) 184. A sakhi [relating a discourse] held with Uttam Bhandari and Sultana Gujar [179a]
187. Baba [Nanak] ji visited Hivanchal [182a]
189. Baba [Nanak] ji visited Gujrat [184a]
190. A sakhi [describing an encounter] with robbers [185b]
193. A sakhi [relating a discourse] held with a land-owner [188b]
200. A discourse held with Shah Sharaf [195a]
203. A sakhi [relating a discourse] held with a Sikh [198a]
205. A sakhi [which relates] a discussion concerning [true] renunciation [200b]
208. A discourse held with Gorakhnath [203a]
210. A sakhi [relating a discourse] held with Guru Angad [205a]
214. A sakhi [relating] another [discourse] held with Guru Angad [209b]
219. Baba [Nanak] ji bathed [214a]
221. A sakhi [describing] the death of Baba [Nanak] [216a][960]

[960] The following two sakhis have been omitted from the *tatkarā*. In each case the title used below is the one given in the text at the conclusion of the preceding sakhi.

76 A visit to the pilgrimage-centres [72b].

219 A sakhi concerning Baba [Nanak] and Mardana [214b].

The reason for the omission was evidently the fact that both sakhis lack the usual accompanying illustration.

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APPENDIX

Illustrations in the B40 Manuscript

For a note on the difference between Gurmukhi and Arabic pagination see the Introduction, pp. 4-6. An obverse/reverse discord between the two systems (as, for example, in the case of illustrations 4 and 8) indicates that the folio has been reversed after the Gurmukhi folio-numbers had been entered but before the later Arabic numbers had been added. See p. 2.

	Description	*Folio numbers*	
		Arabic	*Gurmukhi*
1.	Kalu introduces Nanak to his teacher	2a	2a
2.	Nanak sleeps while his unattended buffaloes trespass	6b	6b
3.	Rai Bular observes Nanak sleeping beneath a tree	8b	8b
4.	The physician examines Nanak	14a	14b
5.	Baba Nanak and Mardana depart for the wilderness	24a	28a
6.	Baba Nanak converses with his parents	28b	32b
7.	Baba Nanak in discourse with Shah Abdul Rahman	31b	36b
8.	The monster prepares his cauldron in order to boil Baba Nanak	34a	39b
9.	Bhola the Robber accosts Baba Nanak	36b	41a
10.	Kaliyug greets Baba Nanak	38b	43b
11.	A poor Sikh greets Baba Nanak	43b	48a
12.	Baba Nanak sleeping in the Mecca mosque is observed by an outraged mullah	46a	51a
13.	Baba Nanak in discourse with Shah Rukandin	47b	52b
14.	Baba Nanak in discourse with Rattan Haji	50b	55b
15.	Baba Nanak and Sheikh Braham	52b	57a
16.	Baba Nanak and Mardana watch Pathans dancing outside Saidpur	61a	66a
17.	The proud karori bows before Baba Nanak	69b	73b (2)
18.	Baba Nanak, walking between two mounds, performs his devotional discipline	71b	75b
19.	Mardana transformed into a ram: Baba Nanak confronts five women of *Strī Deś*	77b	82b

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Description	Folio numbers Arabic	Gurmukhi
20. Baba Nanak and Mardana approach Siddhs on Mount Sumeru	80b	85b
21. Lahana proceeding on pilgrimage with fellow-pilgrims	88b	93b
22. Lahana and a fellow-pilgrim prostrate themselves before Baba Nanak	89b	94a
23. Baba Nanak in the company of Mardana and two ascetics speaks with the wife of Mula the Khatri	94b	99b
24. Baba Nanak, seated in his cell, listens to *kīrtan*	97a	102a
25. Baba Nanak, seated in his cell, chants the praises of the divine Name [Note : the cell is different from no. 24]	100b	105b
26. Baba Nanak and Ajitta Randhava (1)	105b	110b
27. Baba Nanak with Siddhs beside the Achal tank (1)	112b	117a
28. Baba Nanak in act of supplication	118a	123a
29. Baba Nanak and the Raja of *Munāfak Deś*	122a	127a
30. Baba Nanak and the Mecca pilgrims	127a	132b
31. Baba Nanak and Kabir	130b	135b
32. Baba Nanak and Raja Sivanabh (1)	133a	138a
33. Baba Nanak and Raja Sivanabh's gardener	140b	145b
34. Baba Nanak with Raja Sivanabh's slave-girls	144a	149b
35. Baba Nanak and Raja Sivanabh (2)	147b	152b
36. Baba Nanak and Mardana with three citizens of Bhutan	150b	155b
37. Baba Nanak and Mardana standing outside a fort or a palace	152a	157b
38. Baba Nanak and Mardana in Kashmir	154a	159a
39. Baba Nanak transformed into a child in the Land of the Pathans	158a	163a
40. A shepherd from the land without fire or grain bows before Baba Nanak	166a	171a
41. Baba Nanak with two citizens of the Land beside the Sea	168b	173b
42. Baba Nanak with two citizens of the land plagued by a fire-demon	169b	174b
43. Baba Nanak and Ajitta Randhava (2)	171b	176b
44. Baba Nanak with Siddhs beside the Achal tank (2)	175b	180b

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	Description	Folio numbers Arabic	Gurmukhi
45.	Baba Nanak with Uttam Bhandari and Sultana Gujar	178b	183b
46.	Baba Nanak with Datta in Hivanchal	181b	186b
47.	The rich man's pennants : Baba Nanak and the money-lender of Gujrat	183b	188b
48.	Baba Nanak with two robbers	185a	190a
49.	Baba Nanak and the robber landlord	188a	193a
50.	Baba Nanak with the transvestite Sheikh Sharaf outside Baghdad	194b	199b
51.	Baba Nanak and a devout Sikh	197b	202b
52.	Baba Nanak in discourse with a learned faqir	200a	205a
53.	Baba Nanak with Gorakhnath and Kal	202b	207b
54.	Guru Nanak and Guru Angad (1)	204b	209b
55.	Guru Nanak and Guru Angad (2)	209a	214a
56.	Guru Nanak bathing, with Guru Angad in attendance	213b	218b
57.	Baba Nanak seated beneath a tree : his servant Kamala encounters three yogis	215b	220b

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GLOSSARY

Many of the terms listed below have been defined at greater length in footnotes to the English translation. Numbers given in parentheses at the end of individual entries indicate the footnotes which should be consulted for extended definitions or examples of usage.

Ādi Granth : the Guru Granth Sahib, sacred scripture of the Sikhs.

ādes : Adesh ! Hail ! The characteristic salutation of the Kanphat yogis. (432)

ak : the shrub *Calatropis gigantea*, known for its poisonous berries. (348)

amrit : the nectar of immortality.

Āratī Sohilā : a selection of hymns from the Adi Granth sung by devout Sikhs immediately before retiring at night, and also at funerals. (492)

aṣṭapadī : a hymn of eight (occasionally more) stanzas.

Āsū (Asvin) : the seventh month of the lunar year.

atīt : Hindu ascetic.

avadhūt : Hindu ascetic; yogi.

Bābā : 'Father', a term of respect applied to holy men. (5)

bairāgī : Hindu renunciant. (333)

bāṇī (vāṇī) : speech; the utterances of the Gurus and bhagats (q.v.) recorded in the Adi Granth. (132)

Bedī : a Khatri *got* (q.v.). (6)

Belā : uncultivated land near human habitation. (911)

Bhādon (Bhādron) : the sixth month of the lunar year.

bhagat (bhakta) : devotee; worshipper of a personal God. (39)

Bhāī : 'Brother', a title applied to Sikhs of learning or piety. (376)

bhang : cannabis.

Braj (Braj-bhāṣā) the language of the Vrindaban/Mathura area.

burqā : the garment worn by Muslim women, covering the head and reaching almost to the feet.

chādar, chaddar : a length of cloth used either as a garment or as a bed-covering. (794)

chaudharī : village headman. (926)

chaukā : cooking-area. (203)

Choṇā : a Khatri *got* (q.v.). (458)

darbār : durbar; royal court; royal audience or place of au

darsan : view, vision; audience with a person of regal or spiritual stature; the blessing imparted by an audience with a person of exalted spiritual stature. (781)

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Dasam Granth : 'the Book of the Tenth [Guru]', a collection of writings attributed to Guru Gobind Singh. See *ESC*, pp. 79-81.

dharamsālā : in early Sikh usage a room or building used for devotional singing and prayer; gurdwara (q.v.). (340)

dharma, dharam : the appropriate moral and religious obligations attached to any particular status in Hindu society.

dhotī : cloth worn around the waist, passed between legs, and tucked in at rear. (795),

Digambar : a Jain of the Digamber ('space-clad', naked) sect. (331)

Dom Dūm : a depressed caste of Muslim genealogists and musicians, also called Mirasis. (73, 126)

faqīr : 'poor man', Muslim ascetic; loosely used to designate non-muslim as well as Muslim renunciants. (369, 515)

ghaṛī : a period of twenty-four minutes. (138)

ghazal : love-poem or love-song.

ghī : clarified butter.

goṣṭ, goṣṭi : discourse.

got (*gotra*) : 'sub-caste', exogamous caste grouping within the endogamous *zāt* or *jāti* (q.v.).

grahasti : 'householder', married man living with his family. (332, 397)

gurduārā, gurdwara : Sikh temple.

Gurmukhī : the script used for writing Punjabi.

hājī : a Muslim who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca or who is in the process of doing so.

halāl : 'lawful', in accordance with Muslim prescription. (94)

harām : 'unlawful', proscribed by Muslim law. (258)

haṭha-yoga : 'yoga of force', a variety of yoga requiring physical postures and processes of great difficulty. (410)

haumai : self, self-centredness. (389)

janam-sākhī : hagiographic narrative, esp. of Guru Nanak.

Jaṭ : an agrarian caste with strong military traditions, dominant in rural Punjab.

jāti (Pbi. *zāt*) : endogamous caste grouping.

kalimā : the Muslim confession of faith. (95)

Kaliyug, Kaliyuga : the fourth and last of the cosmic ages (*yuga*); the age of degeneracy. (187)

Kānphaṭ : 'split-ear'; sect of yogis, followers of Gorakhnath and practitioners of hatha-yoga (q.v.), so-called because of their pierced ears in which rings are worn. Cf. *Nāth*.

karma : destiny, fate of an individual, generated in accordance with the deeds performed in his present and past existences.

karoṛī : a high-ranking revenue collector of the Mughal period. (350).

kathā : oral commentary on sacred scriptures ; narrating of pious anecdotes ; homily. (195)

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Khālsā : the Sikh order or brotherhood instituted by Guru Gobind Singh in 1699.

khanqāh : a Sufi monastery.

Khaṛī Bolī : the language of the Delhi area.

Khatrī : a mercantile caste, particularly important in the Punjab.

Khudā : God (Muslim usage).

kīrtan : the singing of devotional songs. (195)

kos, koh (*krośa*) : a linear measure varying from one to two miles in different parts of India. In the Punjab it has generally been computed as the equivalent of one and a half miles. (346)

kuṛam : the relationship subsisting between the fathers of a married couple. A husband's father is the *kuṛam* of the husband's father-in-law and vice versa. (936)

langoṭ-band : celibate ascetic. (476)

loṭā : a small metal vessel.

mahā-purakh, mahā purukh : a person of exalted insight, one possessing divine wisdom and powers. (359)

man (*manas*) : mind, heart, soul, psyche. (29)

manjī : a small string-bed ; seat of spiritual authority. (342, 549)

mantra : a verse, phrase, word or syllable of particular religious import, in some cases believed to possess magical qualities.

mātā : mother. (458)

maulānā : a learned Muslim.

maund : a unit of weight. (745)

māyā : (in Vedant) cosmic illusion ; (in Sant and Sikh usage) the corruptible and corrupting world, with all its snares, presented to man as permanent and incorruptible and so masquerading as ultimate truth. In Sant and Sikh usage the term has strong moral overtones and is frequently symbolized by lucre and women.

miharāb : the niche in mosque which indicates the *qiblah* (viz. the direction of the Ka'bah in Mecca and thus the direction which Muslims should face when praying). (215)

mullah : a teacher of the law and doctrines of Islam.

muqadam : village headman. (925)

murīd : disciple of a Sufi pir (q.v.). (855)

nām : the divine Name, the expression of the nature and being of God in terms comprehensible to the human understanding. (8)

nām simaran : repeating the divine Name of God ; meditating on God.

namāz : Muslim prayer, esp. the prescribed daily prayers.

Nānak-panthī : a disciple of Guru Nanak.

narak . hell.

Nāth : lit. 'Master'. A yogic sect of considerable the Punjab prior to and during the time of the early Sikh Gurus. Its members, who are also known as Kanphat yogis (q.v.), practised hatha-yoga (q.v.) in order to obtain immortality. (15, 381, 786)

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pāndhā : teacher.

paṇḍit : an erudite person; a mode of address used for Brahmans.

panth : lit. 'path' ; system of religious belief and practice; religious community ; the followers of a particular religious teacher. (9)

parganā : subdivision of a district.

Paṭhān : a person from the North-West Frontier or Afghanistan; one of the Ashraf ('nobility') of Muslim India. (285)

pīr : the head of a Sufi order; a Sufi saint.

pothī : volume, tome.

pujārī : officiant at a Hindu temple or shrine.

qāzī qāḍī : a Muslim judge, administrator of Muslim law. (81)

rabāb : a stringed instrument. (82)

rāg, rāga : melodic organization, a series of five or more notes on which a melody is based.

Rāj : the mason and bricklayer caste.

rākas (rākṣasa) : demon, ogre, cannibal. (154)

Rām, Rāma : strictly the incarnation (*avatār*) of Visnu as Ram Chandar, but used more generally as a Hindu name for God. Commonly set in contrast to the Muslim term Khuda (q.v.).

Rāmgaṛhīā : a Sikh artisan caste, predominantly drawn from the Tarkhan or carpenter caste but also including Sikhs from the blacksmith, mason, and barber castes.

Randhāvā : a Jat *got* (q.v.). (542)

Rohillā, Ruhelā : a Pathan (q.v.) tribe.

śabad : the divine Word, the divine self-communication; a hymn (shabad) from the Adi Granth.

sādh : fulfilment (of the quest for truth); one who has found enlightenment. (162)

sādhū : Hindu ascetic, a *sādh* (q.v.). (841)

Sādhukkaṛī : devotional *lingua franca* of North India, based on Khari Boli (q.v.) and supplemented by regional languages. Also called Sant Bhasa (q.v.). See *GNSR*, p. 153.

śāh, shāh : money-lender. (669, 811)

sahaj : the condition of ultimate, inexpressible beatitude; the ultimate state of mystical union. (410, 654)

sākhī : lit. 'testimony' ; section or individual annecdote in a janamsakhi (q.v.). (2)

Samvat, Sammat : dating according to the Vikrama Era, designated by the abbreviation S. (10)

sangat : assembly, religious congregation ; the grouping according to locality of the members of a particular panth (q.v.), esp. the Sikh Panth. (193)

sant : one who has found enlightenment.

Sant-bhāṣā : 'the language of the sants', Sadhukkari (q.v.).

sanyāsī : Hindu renunciant. (329)

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Satgurū : the True Guru.
ser, seer : a measure of weight and of liquid. (771)
Shari'at : the religious law of Islam.
shirk : 'partnership', attributing a partner to God, polytheism. (270).
Siddh : Eighty-four exalted personages believed to have obtained immortality through the practice of yoga and to be dwelling deep in the Himalayas. In the janam-sakhis the term is normally confused with *Nāth* (q.v.). (15, 127, 381, 607)
siddhi : fulfilment, consummation of the hatha-yoga technique. (127, 790)
silsilā : a line of Sufi pirs (q.v.).
sipārā : a thirtieth part of the Qur'an, section of the Qur'an. (222)
ślok : shalok, couplet or stanza.
śrādh, śrāddh : a ceremony in which food and other commodities are offered to Brahmans on behalf of deceased forbears. (928)
sudi : the light half of a lunar month, the period of the waxing moon. Cf. *vādi*.
surmā : powdered antimony applied to the eyes or eye lids.
Swāmī : 'Master', a title of respect.
Tarkhān : the carpenter caste.
tatkarā : table of contents.
tikā, tilak : a mark applied to the forehead as an ornament, a sectarian symbol, a symbol of betrothal, or as part of an investiture ceremony. (35, 469)
tirath : a sacred place, a place of pilgrimage for Hindus. (176, 194, 350)
Trehan : a Khatri *got* (q.v.).
udāsī : 'one who is forlorn', a renunciant. (408, 41, 332)
vadi : the dark half of a lunar month, the period of the waning moon. Cf. *sudi*.
vaid : physician, practitioner of ayurvedic medicine.
vār : a heroic ode of several stanzas; a song of praise; a dirge. (269)
vazir : vizier, minister of state; an important official.
Yam; Yama : the god of the death.
yug, yuga : cosmic era.

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Plate 1

The physician examines Baba Nanak
(illustration 4)

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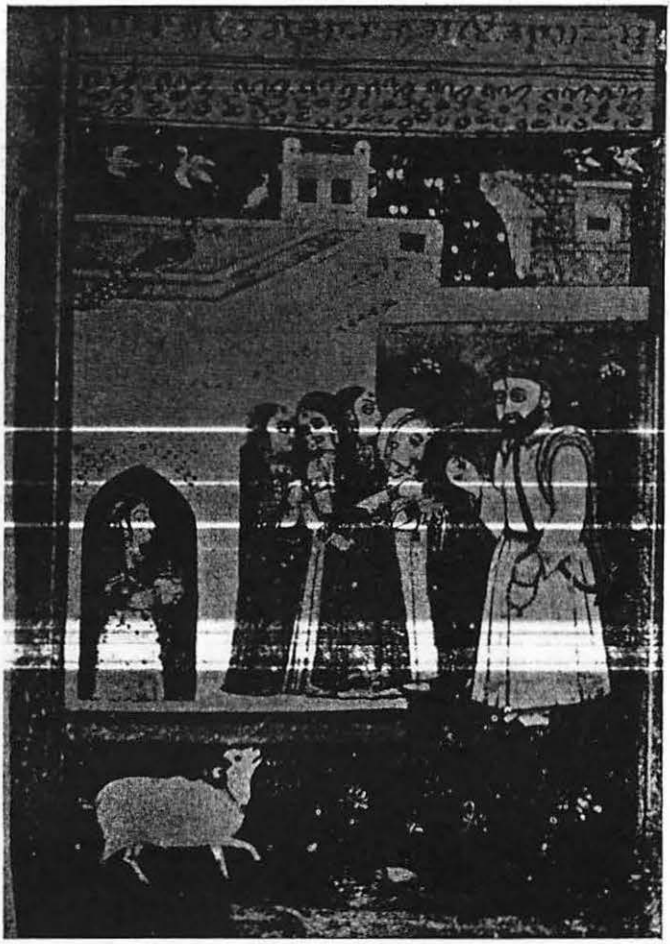

Mardana transformed into a ram
(illustration 19)

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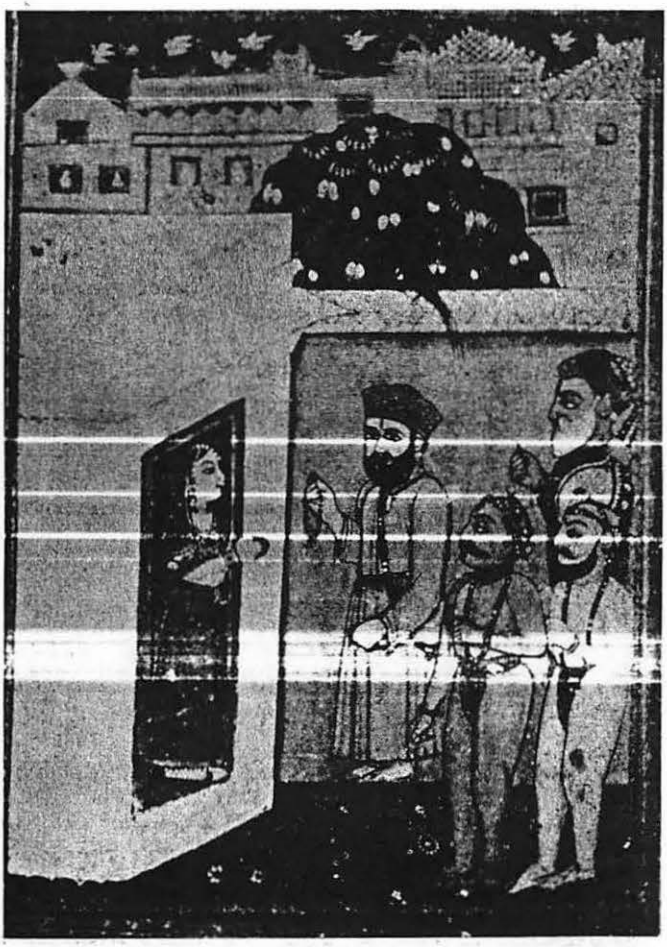
Plate 3



Baba Nanak and the wife of Mula the Khatri
(illustration 23)

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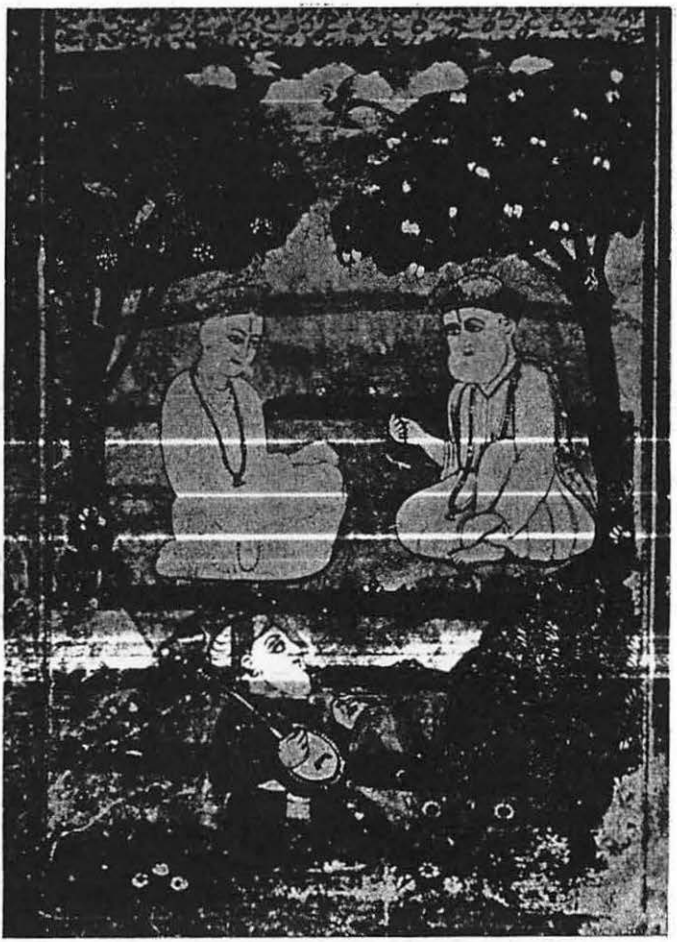

Baba Nanak and Kabir
(illustration 31)

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Plate 5

Baba Nanak in Bhutan
(illustration 36)

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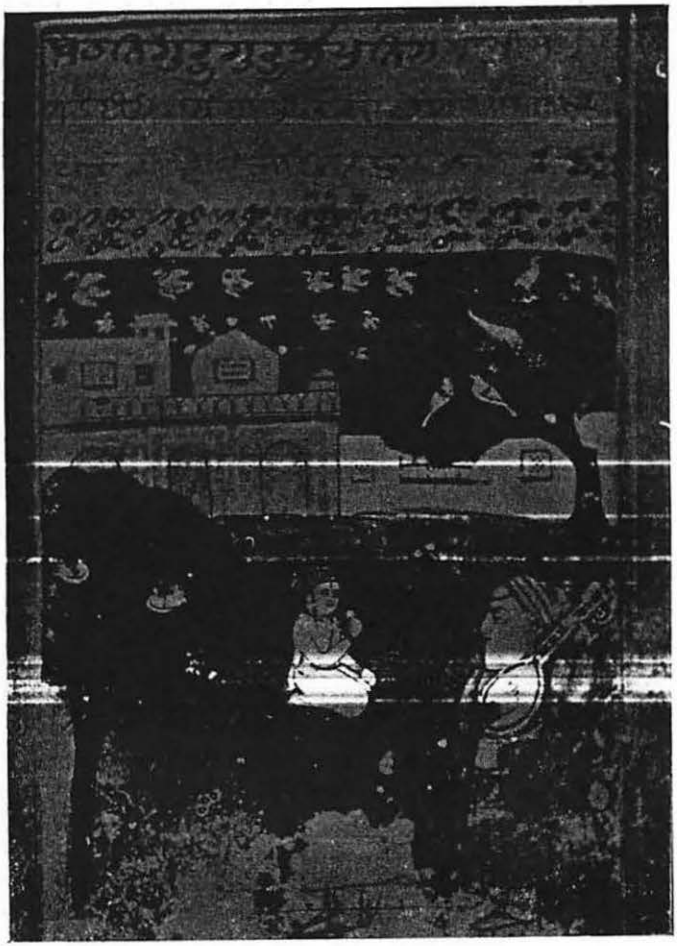

Baba Nanak in the Land of the Pathans
(illustration 39)

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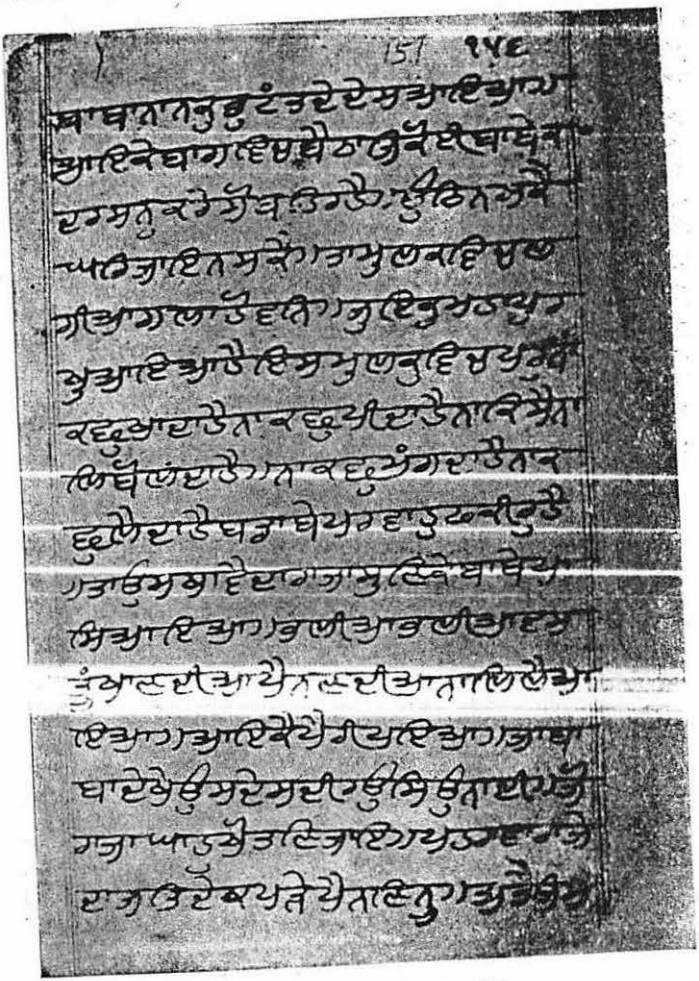
Plate 7



Folio 156a of the *B40* janam-sakhi

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CORRIGENDA

INTRODUCTION	
Page 8, line 21	'1526' should read '152b'
TRANSLATION	
Page 163, note 244, line 2	'folio 55b' should read 'folio 60b'.
Page 157, note 672, line 8	Add to *South Asia* : 'no. 3 (August 1973), pp. 105-6'.
Page 197, line 5	'maunds' should read 'mounds'.
Page 219, note 874, line 2	'Folio 207b' should read 'folio 212b'.
Page 232, note 915, line 4	'Folio 219b' should read 'folio 224b'.

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